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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1949

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BRANCH—HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1949

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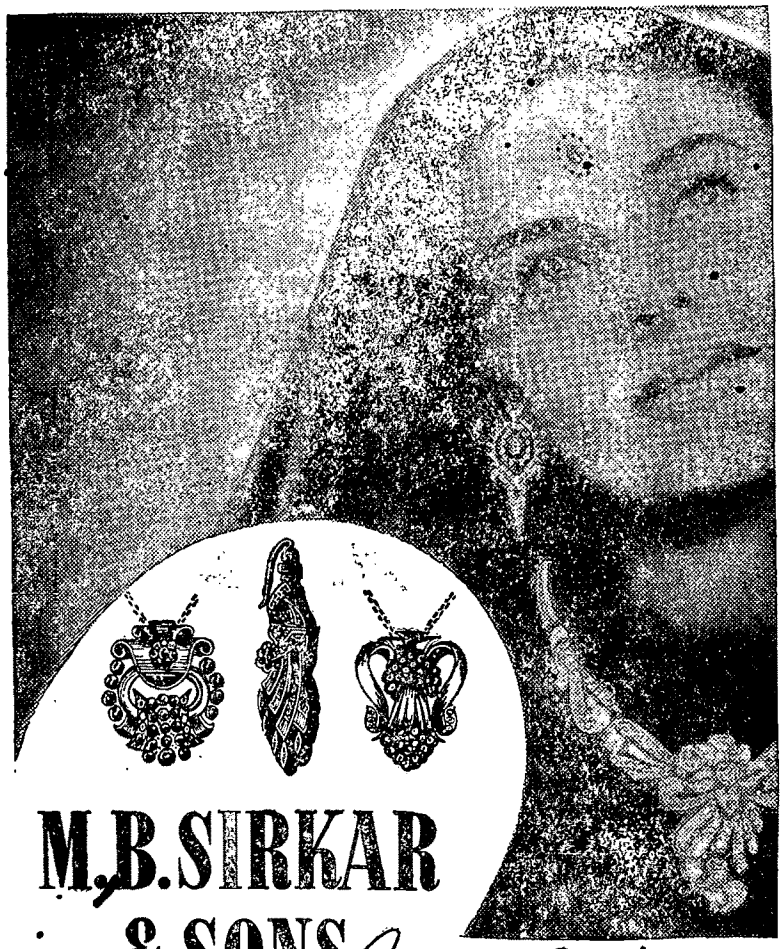

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BRANCH—HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1949

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ADDRESS.

His Excellency the Governor-General's speech at the Special Convocation of the University of Calcutta for conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law on Tuesday, 30th November, 1948.

MR. CHANCELLOR, VICE-CHANCELLOR, FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN —

I was overwhelmed when the invitation was sent to me to accept the Degree of Doctor of Law by this University. I had never expected that my friend, Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, the Premier, would launch forth on such a long eulogy of me. I had always thought he was a man of few words and that he would not make any exaggerated statements or deeper cuts than the surgical knife required. I was surprised, although pleasantly, at the very lengthy encomiums which he had chosen to pay.

I am very grateful for all that has been said by him and by the Chancellor. His Excellency your Chancellor and Governor of this Province, extorted my admiration when I first met him at Allahabad many years ago on a historic occasion, by his wisdom and patience. I am therefore extremely glad to receive this degree at his hands. No one truly is older or younger than any other. We are all eternal and it is only our bodies that differ in age. I have enough humility to understand the meaning of the words I have used. I say sincerely that I receive this degree at his hands with very great satisfaction. The premier University of India has chosen to confer this great honour upon me. I was greatly overjoyed when I received a Degree of Doctor of Law from the University out of which I was born. But

when one receives a benefit from one's own mother, one does not think that anything extraordinary has taken place. But when I receive a degree from the premier University of Calcutta, I begin to ask whether really I deserve all this. I shall not weary you with my thoughts in this direction because in the world of affairs such thoughts may pass for conventional humility. I however know how truly I speak.

It is the Degree of Doctor of Law that you have been pleased to confer upon me. "Law" in the singular makes it far greater than "Laws" in the plural. Am I then receiving a Degree of Doctorate in that Law which is the law of all laws, the basis of all life and the meaning and the purpose of all the laws that men pass from time to time in several countries? In our own great language we have a word exclusively set apart for this connotation—Dharma. Am I considered fit by the premier University of India to receive a Doctorate of Dharma?

I am very grateful, profoundly grateful, to God who has enabled me to have lived a life which you consider a sufficient basis for conferring this great Degree upon me. I have often been tempted to laugh at honorary degrees. As I have a sense of humour I am able to laugh at myself, when these honorary Degrees are conferred upon ignorant people like me without any great academic qualifications. But on this occasion I must confess that I am thinking in a different way. Ordinary Degrees are conferred after strict examination and classification. Now at the age of 60 or 70, if all that a man has done during his life is carefully examined by critical and good men who are members of a University and if they value my performance as good enough for giving me this great Degree of Dharma, surely I may feel proud. But being somewhat religiously inclined, I attribute it all to God who has enabled me to go through difficulties and trials through a fairly long period in the manner I have done and enabled you to appreciate what I have done.

Thank you, Mr. Chancellor, for conferring this Degree upon me. I tender my thanks to the Fellows and Senators of this University. I shall deem it a great honour and I hope in the few years that are left to me I shall be benefited by the encouragement that you have given me by this Degree. I hope that I shall live worthily during the time that yet remains for me and bring this great University no discredit.

THE EARTH CHILDREN OF BENGAL

(A study of the Namasudra Community of East Bengal)

LOTIKA GHOSE, B. LITT. (OXON.)

Who are they these Earth Children of East Bengal, who have for centuries dwelt along both banks of the Navaganga, now called the Madhumati, their habitation not only stretching across the four districts of Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Backergunj, but also scattered over the whole of East Bengal. Medium or short in height, lithe in build, dark, with semi-Aryan features, their faces have that look of absorption which is so characteristic of primitive peoples who have survived through civilization with their link with the past unsevered. The Namasudras of East Bengal, strong, united, clannish, almost tribal, form an ethnic unit which is not of mere caste.

From whence have come these Earth Children and settled down in their present holdings? My own impression is that they have come from nowhere, that in fact it is they who were the inheritors of East Bengal and the plains of Assam, they and those other castes still more lowly who have been dubbed as untouchables, who have been treated with contempt and obliquay, but who have fed us and served us with their toil and who have tried to treasure up the knowledge which we have forgotten.

What was the condition of these ancient people before they came in contact with Aryan civilization? According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, they were in the Neolithic stage of civilization, but had learnt the use of copper and iron. The retention of the habit of the use of copper and iron bangles by those Hindus who are regarded as untouchables seem to point to this. Also the use of iron bangles by certain yogis seem to prove the assumption of Dr. Chatterji that the practice of Yoga was common among these early inhabitants of Bengal. "The idea of karma and transmigration, the practice of yoga, the religious and philosophical ideas centring round the conception of divinity as Siva, Devi and Vishnu, the Hindu ritual of pujah as opposed to the Vedic ritual of homa, all these and much more in Hindu thought, would appear to be non-Aryan in origin." [1]

[1] History of Bengal, Volume I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, page 563.

Besides this, if scholars are to be believed important plants like rice, tamarind and the cocoanut were the discovery of these our early ancestors. That this is exceedingly likely is proved by the fact that in Bengal and Madras, as also among the Mongolian tribes of the Himalayan border, rice is still the staple food. The large and very common use of the tamarind in Madras and Bengal also is to be noted. Thus Bengalis not only owe their discovery of the rice plant and its cultivation to these early ancestors, but also much of their popular religion, most of their folk crafts, and nautical crafts.

One can imagine that these ancient hunters, peasants and fishers, whose offspring are the Namasudras, lived from time immemorial, worshipping their ancient fetishes, which later gave birth to such developed forms of godhead as Vishnu, Siva, Sakti, etc. We are convinced that they were masters of supernatural powers which they derived from their Yogic practices. They had too that sense of beauty, born of an instinct surer than ours, which is common to all primitive people, and which has called forth the admiration of modern artists and art critics. This was evident not only in their art of building and decorating their houses but also in their handicrafts. The first time we get an unambiguous reference to the Vangas is in the Bodhayana Dharmasutra in which what is known as modern Bengal seems to be divided into Pundras (northern Bengal) and the Vangas (central and eastern Bengal).[1] Kalidasa (fifth century) places the Vangas amongst the streams of the Ganges, and thus the westernmost boundary must have extended to the Kosai in Midnapore district. But the Vangas of the Pala and Sena records, was a far smaller area as the district west of the Bhagirathi in the Pala period formed part of Vardaman Bhukti, and the delta embracing parts of Jessore and Khulna were known as Upavanga. In the later Pala period Vanga was divided into two parts, northern and southern, the northern portion being known as Vikrampurabhaga embracing the pergana of Vikrampura and extending across Faridpore south up to Kotalipada.[2] Kotalipada is an old centre of Brahminical culture and is mainly occupied by caste Hindus which seems to show that the original inhabitants due to pressure from the Aryan inhabitants of the north were pressed further and further south till they occupied the deltoid region of the south consisting mainly of lowlands. The southern

[1] History of Bengal, Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, page 8.
[2] *Ibid*, " " " " " 16.

part of Vanga consisting of Gournadi seems to have formed the heart-centre of the Namasudra area extending in the east to the mouth of the Meghna and on the west embracing the banks of the Madhumati including parts of Jessore and Khulna. This region is called Nāvya which means accessible by a boat or ship

Since the Namasudras form the bulk of the population of this area the claim seems to be made good that it is they who were the original inhabitants of Vanga or Bangala along with those Muslims who were converts from their ranks. This ethnic group is now spread over considerable portions of Jessore and Khulna, a fair portion of Faridpore and Barisal, as well as being scattered all over East Bengal, for though with the coming of the Aryans, there was large scale migration many of the original inhabitants remained behind and were employed as Dasas (peasants) and tilled the land, for their Aryan masters becoming in the process slaves, Dasa, in its later connotation, meaning slaves. For the original term we have to go to the Vedas where the inhabitants of Bengal are generally termed as Dasyas. In the Brahmanas we find king Vena bent on destroying the caste system (Varnasrama) deliberately creating some mixed castes and their vocations are settled during the reign of his successor. In this settlement we find Dasa (cultivator) among the Uttama (high) Sankaras.

It can be surmised that these hunters, peasants, and fishers, with their primitive arts and crafts, had their ancient fetishes, their yearning towards the mystic and supernatural, before they came in contact with our Vedic ancestors. And then through the centuries, by a gradual perculation of Vedic thought and culture, their gods too underwent a transformation acquiring the faces of some of the Vedic gods, though still masked in ancient forms and rites. One can imagine how these Earth Children many of whom had fled to the forests, seeing the sacrificial fires lighted by the Aranyakas or Vedic seers dwelling in forests at first watched from a distance and then encouraged made nearer approach till they too learnt the Vedic tongue, and were innitiated into the mystic rituals of the Vedic sacrifices and the high symbolism which is locked in the rich poetry of the Vedas so that they were taught to enter the path of the divine sacrifice at which the Cosmic gods participate.

The suppression Vedicism, which was gradually getting polluted by admixture with non-Aryan cults, by imperial Buddhism made it merge more completely with these cults so that to suit the needs

of the masses of non-Aryan people the Vedic rites were simplified into an easier, a more natural, form, that from which is Sahaja or or Sahajata (natural) to all human beings and which can be realised by saint and peasant without brook or hindrance without requiring the help of the reasoning mind, without the need of ardous tapas or prolonged yajna, by the evocation of the divine Sakti which is in all of us and which when evoked could carry the initiate triumphantly to the goal.

And now came the Buddhist monks, still following the courses of these ancient rivers which not only brought to Bengal the rich silt that gave her soil fertility, but which also led to her all developed thought and civilization to hold in her bosom to be treasured in her complex mind. Thus these Namasudras, these natives of East Bengal, now found yellow garbed Buddhist monks begging food from them, preaching to them the message of the great Nirvana, And these Earth Children, hospitable as mother earth herself with whom they had always lived in intimate contact, listened to these others too with all the curiosity of the primitive mind, trying with simple sincerity to realise the truths they taught. Perhaps they smiled, the smile born of their deeper earth wisdom, perhaps they showed the Buddhist monks their gods treasured from ancient times, ranging from fetishes and household deities to those higher cosmic gods which they had shaped according to their own imaginings. In any case the Buddhist sadhakas soon discovered that among them there were men who carried in their hearts some secret knowledge which was unknown to them, and that when their teachings were accepted these teachings took a form unfamiliar to them travelling along unknown paths of mystic realisation. They saw the Buddhist Dharmachakra as centres of cosmic power realised in the human body. They saw their Sunyavada giving place to Mahasukhavada, which later developed into Bajrayana and Sahajyana of Mahayana Buddhism. They soon saw that these simple people had among them strange yogis with great curative powers, with supernatural gifts unknown to the reasoning mind, native to the senses, of which the eightfold path, of which the Sunya and Tathata philosophies of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism were ignorant. And so Mahayana Buddhism began to take stamp from the wisdom stored in the hearts of yogis who lived amongst these primitive people, and broke up into the various yanas of later Buddhism.

The rise of resurgent Hinduism which culminated in the 9th century in the high Philosophy of Sankaracharya (and which bears

in itself traces of Buddhism), drove Buddhism for refuge in Bengal, as Buddhism had earlier driven Vedicism. Buddhism driven to Bengal took a stamp of its own, and divided up in this deltoid country into a large number of mystic paths of realisation, which may all be said to be offshoots of what is known today as Buddhist Tantricism and whose main objective was either to gain supernatural powers or to attain Mahasukha. It is our belief that it was man's consciousness steeped in Mahasukha or the creative bliss that conceived the wonderful painting, sculpture and architecture of the Buddhist period dating from the fourth to the twelfth century which synchronises with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism with all its branches. And we have no doubt that it was from these earth children of Non-Aryan ancestry known in Vedic literature as the Nishadas who were spread over the length and breadth of India and amongst whom these mystic cults had spread, so that they followed one or other of these mystic paths of realisation, that came the master artisans who enacted these masterpieces of art which we find in the caves, monasteries, and temples of ancient India, whose remnants can today be seen in Nalanda, Ajanta, Ellora, Sigirya, Kunarak and other places. It is well to remember the debt of gratitude India owes to these master artisans coming from those lowly castes despised and outcasted by us, in the construction of those artistic monuments which are the admiration of the world today.

The message of Buddhist Tantricism born and nurtured in Greater Bengal, spread far and wide bringing eager scholars from Nepal, Tibet, China and other places who translated and sometimes copied the Buddhist Tantric scriptures kept in the monasteries of Bengal and Bihar of which Vikrampura, and Vikramsila as well as Nalanda were the largest and most famous.

Can the Namasudras of Bengal ever forget this great period of which they formed such a living part. In fact we may well ask if this great period so rich in art, so rich in philosophy, so rich in song, would have been possible had not these simple peasants in their unsophisticated wisdom treasured amongst them descendants and inheritors of the knowledge of the Vedic mystics, men who whilst adapting, had jealously guarded the secret knowledge of the Vedas and preserved in their own virile bodies the technique of the great Vedic sacrifice whose essence Soma or Amrita sustained the Cosmic gods.

But the truth-light fades from all spiritual movements and it faded from Mahayana Buddhism, leaving mainly degenerate practices

and erotic excesses in its trail. And so once more came Brahminical Hinduism to take the place of Buddhism and Ballal Sen himself a Hindu introduced the Kaulinya Pratha or system of higher castes degrading all Buddhists to the lowest castes. Since this time the Buddhists were relegated to the lowest castes and so the Namasudras who claim to be descendants of Buddhist Brahmins, evidently the sadhakas of the different yanas of Mahayana Buddhism, became Naman-Sudras or low Sudras. There is an interesting story that Ballal Sen once on the advice of the Vaidyas who were influential in his court, insulted the Suvarna-Vaniks who were Buddhists by inviting them to a feast and seating them with the Sudras, The Suvarna-vaniks who were the bankers of the nation and held large stocks of gold took revenge by buying all the Dasas or peasants so that there were no cultivators left and the higher castes were put to much difficulties. As a punishment the Suvarna-vaniks along with the Dasas were made into Naman-Sudras, low Sudras and even water touched by them was looked upon as contaminated. Whatever be the authenticity of the above story it is evident that by making them untouchables the Namasudras were successfully segregated from the rest of the population so that the East Bengal Buddhists could not spread their cult or their fifth column activities, for one can have little doubt that the sympathies of these Buddhists was with the pro-Buddhist Pala kings. The fact that in Midnapore the peasants of Mahisayas are not untouchables seem to corroborate this story.

But not long could Brahminical Hinduism in Bengal remain uncontaminated. Tantricism emerged in all splendour in Brahminical Hinduism giving it its ritual of worship, giving it its mantras and giving it its scriptures. The Prajña-paya, the union of Prajña and Upaya emerged as the union of Siva Sakti at the Sahasrara. The Bajra-Kamal yoga was restored and once more the sadhaka drank the mystic honey, the immortal nectar of creation flowing from the union of Sakti with Sada-Siva. The Bengal school of Tantricism even retained the direct realisation through the adoption of Saktis or mystic partners who could either be a human being or subtle psychic beings evoked by the sadhaka for the purpose of the sadhana. As for the Namasudras of Bengal they either changed their Buddhist Tantric gods into various forms of Siva and Sakti adopting Hindu Tantricism or they continued under the discipleship of yogis who were adepts in the mystic Dehatattva or Sahaja-tattva.

With the advent of Islam in India, perhaps because of persecution in their homeland by their orthodox co-religionists, came the

heterodox Sufis and other schools of Islamic thought. These men crossed the frontiers and came to India spreading in all directions till following the course of the Bhagirati and Padma they spread over the whole of Bengal from the Hooghly to the Brahmaputra. So popular did they become that in the fourteenth century there were one hundred and fifty seats of Muslim saints of whom the most famous were Shah Sufi and Shah Jalal. Sufi mysticism with its cult of ecstatic union with the Divine as the Beloved, at once made thousands and thousands of converts from Hinduism which had become a dry scholastic religion, Bengali pundits specialising in the Naya Darshan or in the study of Logic, and founding the Navya-Naya or the School of New Logic.

Raghunandan born in 1500 A.D. in Navadwip, and seeing that not only was anarchy prevailing in Hinduism which had been deeply affected by Tantricism but that larger and larger numbers of Hindus were being converted to Islam, made a compendium of the Smritis of Manu and other Smritikars and tried to impose his Navya Smriti on the Hindus of Bengal. In order to eliminate the Buddhist Tantric influence from orthodox Hinduism he made the caste system more rigid, thus banning all intercourse and intermarriage between the higher and lower castes

The position of Hinduism at this time in Bengal was peculiar. Whilst on the one hand the Namasudras and lowly castes were suffering social oppression and suppression at the hands of the higher caste Hindus, the caste Hindus were being persecuted by the Islamic conquerors of Bengal. The severity of the persecution may be judged by the fact that in Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita we find Sree Adyaitya Goswami engaged in Sadhana for the birth of an Avatar who would be the destroyer of the hated Yavana. In fact, the fact that Sree Chaitanya was indeed the saviour of not only the Vaisnava community but of Hinduism in Bengal is not yet fully realised by either our scholars or our historians. Had not Sree Chaitanya appeared at this psychological moment it is doubtful how far Hinduism would have withstood the onslaught of Islam. The bulk of the population, when the Muslim conquerors came, were Buddhists, (Sat-dharmis) or Hindus who for their Buddhists leanings had been degraded into the lowest castes. Thus not much love was lost between the masses and the caste Hindus. Evidence of this can be had in the Sunya Puran where Niranjan becomes the Muslim heaven, Bramha becomes Mohamad, Ganesha becomes Gazi, Kartic becomes

Kazi, the constellations become soldiers and together they act as deliverers of these oppressed sects and classes.[1] We have already mentioned how the Sufi saints with their doctrine of divine ecstacy corresponding to the doctrine of Mahasukha, had already made large numbers of converts. The supreme genius of Sree Chaitanya saw that if Hinduism was to be saved it was not by the narrow isolationism of Raghunandan but by embracing the Buddhists and low caste Hindus and gathering them in the fold of Hinduism not as outcastes but as equal and honoured members. At a time when Raghunandan was making the caste system rigid and unshakeable Sree Chaitanya with his catholic doctrine of love was inviting the depressed, the oppressed and the Yavana to the great cosmopolitan democratic brotherhood of Vaisnava fellowship. To regard Chaitanya Vaisnavism as a Hindu movement would be to misunderstand it. Undoubtedly it started as a socio-political movement directed against the Muslim conquerers, but developed as a peoples movement inviting all who were poor and sorrowful, all who were depressed, opening its doors to the yavana, preaching the cult of love, devotion and service, (not the materially futile, spiritually barren, morally degrading cult of class-hatred preached by communists) with the result that Hinduism not only gained immense material, moral and spiritual strength but the tide of Muslim conversion was effectually stopped. But for this purpose Vaisnavism had to make certain concessions. Not only did they adopt the Vrindavan Lila (to which the Muslim idea of the mystic Paradise and the Sufi cult of mystic union with the divine could easily be adapted) but Chaitanya

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[1] নিরঞ্জন নিরাকার হৈলা ভেস্ত অবতার
মুখেত বলেত দম্বদার।
জতেক দেবতাগন সভে হয়্যা একমন
আনন্দেত পরিল ইজার॥
ব্রহ্মা হৈল মহামদ বিষ্ণু হৈলা পেকাম্বর
আদম্ফ হৈল স্থলপানি।
গনেশ হইয়া গাজী কাত্তিক হৈল কাজি
ফকির হইল্যা জত মুনি॥
তেজিয়া আপন ভেক নারদ হইল্যা সেক
পুরন্দর হইল মলনা।
চন্দ্র সূর্য্য আদি দেবে পদাতিক হয়্যা সেবে
সভে মিলি বাজায় বাজনা॥

Sunya Purana

Vaisnaism succeeded in getting Parochea Sadhan recognised as the highest form of Sadhan so that Sree-Radhika was not regarded as the married consort of Sree Krishna, the incarnation of Laksmi but as Sree Krishna's own Hladini-Sakti who during the earthly sojourn was his Parochea mate. Thus Bengal Vaishnavism not only made its compromise with Tantricism, but also made way for the Sahaj form of Sadhan which had become wide-spread not only amongst the Hindu masses but which had made its way into Sufism as practised in Bengal.

Even orthodox Hinduism had to come to terms with Islam. The influence of the Muslim Pirs became so strong and universal that Satya Pir, who was himself an admixture of Buddhist and Islamic concepts was accepted as an avatar of Narayan and the Satya-Narayan Pujah began to be performed in Bengal, its rites having been included and explained in Skanda Puran. The tombs of Muslim Pirs were also held in extreme reverence and many of the humbler sects of Hindus accepted Mohamad as an avatar.

THE THAKURS OF ORAKANDI

At this stage there swept over the Namasudra country the tide of Chaitanya Vaisnava movement. One of the first to bring this new message to the Namasudras was a Brahmin from Mithila, evidently a Tantric who came to Bengal on his way to Kamakhya. But the fame of the new movement deflected him to Navadwip, so that he adopted the new faith and took the name of Ramdas Thakur. If the records of the Thakur family are correct Ramdas Thakur came to Bengal in the sixteenth century. The effect of his conversion is thus described:

ভাবাবেশে উদাসীন দেশে দেশে রাত্রীদিন
ত্রিশূল গাড়িয়া সভা ডাকে
উজ্জ্বল বরাঙ্গ কান্তি ধৈর্য্য ক্ষমা দয়া শান্তি
বিরাজিত ছিল তার চোখে।

Returning from Kamakhya we find Ramdas Thakur coming to the banks of the Navaganga, the present Madhumati, to Lakshmipur village in Jessore. His coming to Laksmipur is thus described, and the statement is made that the Namasudras were the descendants of the Buddhists, the word Brahmin denoting sadhakas:

আগমন যশোহরে নবগঙ্গা নদীতীরে
লক্ষ্মীপাশা নামে গ্রাম ধন্য
নমঃশূদ্র বীর্য্যবান, বৌদ্ধ ব্রাহ্মণ সন্তান
বল্লাল কোপেতে জঘন্য

(Evidently the reference is to the persecution of the Buddhists by Ballal Sen and the relegation of the faithful Buddhists to the lowest castes by the introduction of the Kaulinya Pratha which depressed many castes.)

These records of the Thakur family also claim that the Namasudras were Dhalis or peasant soldiers of Pratapaditya and thus they were the brave soldiers who resisted the Moghul invasion of Bengal.

নমঃশূদ্র বীর্য্যবান রেখেছে বাংলার মান
প্রতাপাদিত্যের সঙ্গে থাকি
বাহান্ন হাজার ঢালী দেখ নাই চক্ষু মেলী
যুদ্ধে যেতে কেহ ছিল বাকী।

The fact that the Namasudras still retain the fighting tradition and that they still have a well cultivated art of warfare, as well as their superiority as fighters when compared to their Muslim neighbours seem to testify that there is some truth in the claim. I would not be surprised if the building of the temple to the Yashareswari Kali the presiding deity of Jessore was a concession to these virile warriors of his by Pratapaditya.

The stress laid on the truth of speech simplicity and honesty of these children of the soil as compared with the lack of the more virile qualities in the Brahmins seem to show that the Namasudras still retained some of those high traditions of conduct preached by the Buddhist eight-fold path and practised by the followers of the mystic Yanas. In spite of the common misapprehension that the followers of these mystic paths were thoroughly depraved, which arose from seeing the later degeneration of these sects.

Haridas Thakur settled down in Laksmipur amongst the Namasudras making their cause his own attacking the cowardly Brahmins and praising the courage and truthfulness of these lowly folk.

বল্লালের অত্যাচার জান সব সমাচার
সাধুজনে করে হতমান
ধর্ম্ম প্রতি তৎপর প্রাণাপেক্ষা প্রিয়তর
ধর্ম্ম রাখে করি প্রাণ দান
সে সব সাধুর বংশ সাধিক পরমহংস
নমঃশূদ্র কূলে লয় জন্ম
বীর্য্যহীন ব্রহ্মসুত ক্লৈব্য দোষেতে পূরিত
ভ্রমে করে যত হীন কর্ম্ম॥
তদপেক্ষা নমঃশূদ্র কিছুতে নহেক ক্ষুদ্র
বিনা দোষে দোষী বটে হয়॥
সত্যের নাহিক আন সত্য যে ধর্ম্মের প্রাণ
সত্য ভাষা সত্য কর্ম্ম ধন্য
সত্যকে মানিতে হলে মনের হীনতা ফেলে
যাহা সত্য তাহা কর মান্য।

But poor Ramdas Thakur had to suffer for his outspokeness and for his championing of the Namasudras. He was outcasted and when he wanted to give his son in marriage, no Brahmin girl was available, the Brahmins tauntingly telling him to marry his son to the daughter of the high and noble Namasudras whose cause he had espoused. It was then that Ramdas Thakur took a step that proved his moral calibre. He married his son to a Namasudra girl. Since then the Thakurs have lived and intermarried amongst the Namasudras and were given the position of their Gurus. The Kali temple at Laksmipur is said to be erected where the body of Ramdas Thakur was burnt.

This union of Tantra and Vaisnava is a peculiar feature of the Namasudras. Even in the houses of those who are devoted Vaisnavas there is a temple of Kali where worship is regularly offered.

When we remember that Chandidas the Sahajiya poet was a worshipper of the Buddhist Tantric Goddess Basuli the conviction gains ground that many of the Namasudras who are initiated follow the Sahaj Cult and we are practically certain that when Kalidasa a descendent of Ramdas Thakur shifted to Pathurghatia and was ordered to give a feast to Sadhus it was to Sadhakas of the Sahaj sect. When speaking of the respect paid to the sons of Yasobanto by all a distinction is made between Sadhus and Vaisnavas which seems to uphold my point. This distinction is maintained throughout. The description of Sadhu Ramkanto also corroborates this theory

To Yasabonto was born a son Hari Thakur who is regarded as the avatar of Sree Krishna himself by the followers of the Thakur family. At present Mr. P. R. Thakur, who passed his examination at the Bar is head of the family. In fact he is the guru of about four lakhs of Namasudras who are the disciples of the Thakur family. Amongst the disciples is a close fellowship, almost a kind of secret brotherhood based upon what would seem a secret form of sadhan. This form of sadhan seems to be some variant of the Vaisnava Sahaja sadhan. The practice of the disciples of assembling at an annual fair at Orakandi where the main branch of the Thakur family finally settled is reminiscent of similar assemblages in earlier times where these sects used to assemble. The annual fair at Khardah was undoubtedly arranged by Nityananda for the meeting of the Buddhist Sahajias to commemorate their conversion to Vaisnavism.

The Namasudras of East Bengal those ancient inhabitants of the Vangas of old, deserted by the caste-Hindus who had oppressed

them and degraded them, while living on their toil, feared and suspected by their Muslim compatriots, one wonders what is the fate that awaits them in Pakistan. Rid of caste-Hindu domination will it be a release and awakening for them, an awakening to new thoughts in which a more virile Hinduism will grow, or will it be a welding and absorption through which will be born a new race of Bengali Muslims who no longer dominated by a narrow Hinduism or a still more narrow Islamic creed, arid as the land of their origin, will live and thrive, will give to the land of their birth a catholic culture in which Hindu and Muslim will mingle not at their courtly and feudal level as in Moghul culture, but which will be born from the bedrock of the common people, having its roots deep in the racial soil. Already the type has appeared in the last true poet of Bengal Kazi Nazrul Islam to whom Bengal gave birth as if in challenge to the false Pan-Islamism of Iqbal, the Pan-Islamian whose logical result has been the partition of India with all its miseries. Tradition has it that when Kabir died Hindus and Muslims both claimed his dead body to perform the funeral rites. Literary criticism will in vain try to puzzle out which influence Hindu or Muslim was dominant in Nazrul, for he will not submit to those external measuring rods which they will apply. Meanwhile ask the Hindu and he will reply, "Nazrul is ours", Ask the Muslim and he will say, "Nazrul is ours", with equal emphasis. In truth in the narrower sense he belongs to neither. In the broader sense he belongs to both, for Nazrul is born from that complex and catholic soul of Bengal which has absorbed races and religions and from whose fertile and rich soil have bloomed forth flowers of the finest fragrance, men of the most precious worth in whom the immemorial ages live and who yet are the poets and prophets of the future. Rammohan, Bankim, Rabindranath, Aurobindo, Subhas, Nazrul, what a rich flowering is there. The racial consciousness which produced these men within a short century can it have grown barren? Partitioned or unpartitioned, the contribution of Bengal to the future is not ended. We believe it is not death but a hibernation, the hibernation from which will spring the new race, the new race whose image in the making still chaotic and untamed has blossomed forth in Nazrul. Why then should we fear for these Earth Children of East Bengal, who tenacious and clinging will, we believe, carry in their bosoms whatever of new wisdom the future has in store for Bengal and India partitioned or unpartitioned.

THE FRONTIERS OF EUROPE

DEFINITION AND ESSENCE OF EUROPE AND WESTERN CULTURE

Dr. Franz Thierfelder

What is Europe ?

Europe's word with many scintillating facets, is one of the few terms that are common to almost all languages as understood by civilized humanity. For nearly two and a half thousand years—Herodotus, the father of historians, used it—it has occupied a privileged place in the vocabulary of the world ; it has been the subject of much abuse, but more often it has been charged with the warm glow of reverence and yearning. And yet the meaning of just this word, now rendered more explosively alive than ever by present events, has changed constantly and all attempts to exhaust its content and define its connotation have hitherto been fruitless, a fact that we have been apt to accept as inevitable ; in the era of national states, the idea of Europe as embracing a geographical and cultural entity, an idea that was felt to be almost Utopian, belonged to the realm of philosophy. The actual fact of its existence was experienced only by those who did not breathe its atmosphere. Today all this has changed. The sigh for Europe as a precious heritage that was vanished for ever, and the clamor for Europe as the only pledge of a future worth living, echoe through the loud-speakers of our wireless sets: the darken or illumine articles in the daily press ; when a statesman today speaks of "Europe", he is sure to command attention. But in the present as in the past, the question as to what we understand by Europe would meet with widely differing answers, which is one of the reasons why the debate about Europe as hitherto conducted, has not produced better results.

In analysing the concept "Europe," it will be useful if, from the outset, we keep a second idea in mind which is often put on the same level, *viz.*, the idea of the West or Occident [1] and its culture. One of the aims of the present essay is to show that such equivalence is false and thus to deflect discussion about Europe into more fruitful channels.

[1] In the German "abendlaendische Kultur" text.

Europe is not a continent like America, Africa or Australia, but part of the Eurasian land complex, the largest uninterrupted stretch of land in the world. The very fact that there are no natural frontiers between the two "continents" demonstrates that Europe and Asia stand in a peculiar mutual relationship. The Urals are usually cited as the frontier, but apart from the fact that as mountains, they are able at best merely to indicate a division, there are other objections. We find the same conditions of life, the same social milieu on both sides of the Ural ridge, if it can be termed so; the Urals never constituted a cultural boundary. Where does Asia start? Beyond the Volga? Beyond the line marking limits of Russian, Polish or even East German national life? The infinite plains of Eastern Europe yield no answer to this question. Nature indeed, seems to know no frontiers, for even climatic differences are not so marked as to provide satisfactory standards. The transition from the low lying plain in the east to the zone of Central Europe and on to the Atlantic coast is so gradual that, although there is a sharp contrast between the eastern and western poles of Eurasia, no abrupt distinction can be detected between the flora and fauna of the intervening areas.

Nor does history permit us to draw a plausible frontier. As far as records reach, the worlds of Europe and Asia have always interacted. Advances from the east were followed by attacks from the west; the colonisation of Eurasia much as it may be disputed in detail, was more than a series of isolated movements, whether Indo-European tribes swarmed out of the valleys of the Himalayas, the steppe of South Russia or the Scandinavian peninsula or whether, as N. Mari the Russian scholar, alleges on the basis of his researches, the prehistoric population of the entire area between the Caucasus and Basque Pyrenees was homogeneous. Of course, the world of the Mongols is quite different from that of western man, but just as western outposts of the former have been dwelling in our midst for centuries (though transformed in physique and character), so also do we find Indo-European peoples settled in Asia for thousands of years, quite apart from colonisation from Europe in modern times.

With the best will in the world, we are unable to discover any national or racial boundary between Europe and Asia. Some of their history is common to both continents, even if there were thousands of years when connections were sparse or practically non-existent and even if at times, various peoples were vividly aware that they belonged to one or the other.

If we ponder over the origin of our religions, we must admit that there simply cannot be a dividing line between Europe and Asia. The Orient has been the cradle of human creeds; but it was in Europe that they often assumed the shape in which they were to spread beyond their original frontiers and take possession of and transform men. This holds not only for Christianity, though it has particular application here; Persian Nithraism, for instance, reached the world *via* Rome and left its shrines on the Moselle as well as on the Syrian coast. The Jewish religion, it is true, was mainly confined to the people of Israel, but as this people spread everywhere, from the pillars of Hercules to the realm of the Khazars, and even to China, thus extending the influence of their faith, so Christianized Europe expressed its religious convictions by sending missionaries, if not, always with success, to farthest Asia. Our religious ideas are far more Asiatic than we should have cared to admit quite recently; ever such a typically European movement as the Reformation received from the Waldensians definite impulses from Manicheism; and the elements of our Mythology, the themes of European fairy-tales and legends, which Europeans, and Germans in particular with their traditional devotion to folklore, had always regarded as their most pecularly national heritage, are largely oriental in origin and are perhaps the most striking proof of commn roots.

Even the social structure of our western world cannot conceal its connection with the Asiatic. Research has only partly revealed the extent of Arabic contribution and the share of Byzantium in the political organization of Europe. The family in the wider sense[1], the community as proprietor, feudel forms, the development of money as the basis of economic life—all these and many other facts are just as unthinkable without the contribution and co-operation of Asia as, say, international trade with its manifold reactions on culture. European creations such as for instance, the Gothic style, which we have seen develope to be the most perfect expression of western spirit, probably long had their beginnings in the east and were quite deliberately transplanted to Europe. The more precious the material was in which our artists expressed their visions, the more indispensable Asia as its source; if we were to eliminate all we owe to Asiatic latitudes, the glory of Europe would be greately dimmed.

Nevertheless, as long as history exists, the contrast between Europe and Asia has been a historical fact and now that the often

[1] In the German text "Grossfamilie".

ridiculed and misunderstood warning. "Peoples of Europe, guard your sacred heritage," is once more in every mouth, we must agree about what we understand by Europe.

Elsewhere we[1] have tried to find a simple and unambiguous definition for the three ideas people, nation and state by basing the idea people on community of language, nation, on the common will of a people grown aware of its own nature, and state as a community organized for political action. Now an attempt is to be made to apply the method used in the former case with groups of individuals to groups of peoples.

One common bond encompasses all who have settled west of the Asiatic Mongols (all that is with the exceptions of the "islands" of the Basques, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Finns, Esthonians, Arabs and Turks) and this is the bond of Indo-European language. However greatly the idioms of the individual members of this language family may vary with their varying stage of development, however distinct their provinces, their cultural capacity, their sound and rhythm, they are nevertheless all subject to the same iron laws of development and have formed the thinking habits of their peoples along quite definite lines that are peculiar to their group alone. During the Armageddons of the past, when the peoples of Europe, blinded by hate, did their best to destroy each other, trying to suffocate in their hearts the mutual sympathy that exists between members of the same physical and spiritual family, we could find balm for our tortured spirits only in the quiet of the scholar's study as we watched him wave the magic rod of philological law over the phenomena of language and lay bare their common roots: ut omnes sin unum.

If a common language is the strongest bond between members of one people, kinship of language is a tie between peoples. Turnin now to where this common Indo-European language had its roots in times long past, where it took permanent hold to cooperate subsequently in the structure for a continental culture, we find it in that part of Euresia which is bound in the east by the Urals, the western boundary of the Khirgiz steppe, the Caspian Sea and separated from Asia Minor by the Caucasus. All that lies west of this line is Europe, including Turkey-in-Europe and Constantinople.

We must not, of course, forget that considerable portions of the Indo-European community lie outside this area. But the bridges to Northern India and Persia, to the Hettites and the Berbers of North

[1] Thierfelder: Volk, Nation, Staat. Aachen, 1947.

Africa were broken so early that, in many cases, we cannot be absolutely certain that they ever existed and if we find remains that point to common roots of language, they are museum exhibits and have no more importance than these for contemporary life. It is impossible to acknowledge a European frontier west of the area settled by the Russians. The thesis that Russia does not belong to Europe is not an invention of today and has also been passionately defended by many Russians but it contradicts the evidence of language and ethnology and finally the instincts of Europeans themselves who have always spoken of a European and an Asiatic Russia. The hostility of the Russians to Europe was mostly a reaction following on class revolutions. After Peter the Great westernized his nobles, genuine Russians were inflamed with hatred of the sapadniki; when, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the liberal bourgeois world in Russia sought, with revolutionary *romanticism* to apply the political order of western countries to countries to conditions obtaining in the declining realm of the Tsars, the Russian soul protested against such violation and, rebelling against Europe, in its turn created a proletarian movement, which, however, cannot seriously deny its European origins.

The Slav, therefore, as a partner in our continent, stands on the same level as the Teutonic and the Latin partners. The dominant triad in the chorus of European languages would be a discord, if we were to include Czechs and Croats as Europeans and relegate the Russians to the concert of Asia. The conviction is nevertheless gaining ground that there is a fundamental difference between the Latin and the Slav worlds which the Teutonic world of Central Europe seems from several points of view essentially qualified to bridge.

But first a word about the non-Indo-Europeans "islands" in Europe. Three of those we have already mentioned—the Hungarians, the Arabs and the Turks—penetrated into Europe from Asia in historical times and for centuries kept alive the question as to whether Europe could not one day be pushed once more to the other side of the Rhine Danube line. The Arabs have left scarcely a trace as regards language, if we accept the tongue of the Maltese; but no one can deny that they put an unmistakable stamp on the Latin populations of Spain and Lower Italy, to say nothing of memorable monuments, both architectural and cultural, from magnificent buildings to the artistic rhythms of Oriental poetry. The Turks have withdrawn to the south-eastern corner of the Balkans but the path

of their retreat from Budapest to the Golden Horn is strewn with contributions which they flung with careless condescension as crumbs from their banquet to their wretched Christian subjects. But neither Arabs nor Turks had invaded Europe in order to become Europeans but for the purpose of subduing the country; they were much too convinced of the superiority of the world of Islam for them ever to have regarded Europe as anything but one of the many provinces of the Caliph.

The Hungarian and Bulgarian cases are different. They too, appeared once as invaders, a terror to peoples who were far ahead of them in civilisation, but who were nevertheless helpless to cope with their mounted and well-organized masses. But both of these peoples were enthralled by the spirit of Europe, though the Bulgarians were numerically far weaker than the Huns or Hungarians, and were absorbed by the Slavonic tribes between the Isker and the Black Sea so that they abandoned all life of their own, *i.e.*, even surrendered their mother-tongue. The Hungarians, on the other hand, proved capable of offering determined resistance to the absorbent tendencies of the nations round them and took the only path that promised them, situated as they were, lasting success; they abandoned as much of their Turanian tradition as was indispensable to assimilation by Europe, while at the same time, retaining such of their possessions as enabled them to hold their own against a strange and for long, most suspicious world. This included, in the first place their language which was proof against all catastrophes. They were clever enough to keep a linguistic balance between German and Latin the languages of communication with the non-magyar world; so the Hungarians escaped being completely swamped by outside forces, often though this fate threatened, and they became fully qualified citizens of Europe and not mere retainers.[1]

The same holds for the Finns, in origin akin to the Hungarians who were probably living on the area they inhabit today before the Indo-Europeans took possession of Europe. Their symbiosis with the Germanic inhabitants of Scandinavia and their share in the F.N. In the world round the Baltic, their position confronting Russia and their remote geographical location, finally the readiness with which they absorbed, even in prehistoric times, the vocabulary of the humble culture of the Teutonic peasantry—all these factors made the Finns a European people in spite of their Ugrian origins. The Swedish language;

[1] In the German text Vollburger Europas, nicht Hintersassen.

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which was used for centuries by the better classes in Finnland, facilitated their classification in the Indo-European community. In the case of the small Esthonian people, whose national awakening we ourselves have witnessed, this function fell to the German language. So intimate was the connection that Esthonian was still using Gothic lettering long after it was no longer, accepted in Germany as a symbol of her own national literature.

Finally the Basques, the descendants of the Iberians whose origin is still a matter of dispute, were so completely embedded in the Latin world, their individuality so absolutely isolated, that they had either to vanish or adapt themselves unconditionally to their Indo-European milieu. They chose the latter course and are still assimilating now French influence and now Spanish, having preserved their language as a reminder of their venerable origin, though they have never made use of it to promote successful national, political movements.

All other peoples who permanently inhabit Europe in any numbers, have a kindred language and are therefore akin in spirit, though anthropologically not of the same race. In tracing their history through the last two thousand years we shall, it is true, constantly meet with differences and contrasts between them; at the same time, however, their history affords unique proof of the fact that every event within this community of language seems to have caused direct and profound reactions on the entire structure. On the entire structure? Here we come to the next question we have to answer.

What is Western Culture?

Up till now we have tried to define what are for us the physical limits of Europe and which peoples can claim the right of being included therein. We have defined Europe as a geographical and ethnological idea based on community of language. But the word "Europe" also includes a sum of ideas belonging to the culture of the spirit and representing the net result of two thousand years' activity. We now propose to drop the word "Europe" in this connection and to speak instead of the west, or occident, and its culture. For the culture of the indo-European community of language, within which the majority of European peoples awoke to consciousness of their inner connections, while their creative impulses took general shape (slowly, with set-backs, and constant contradiction) swept beyond the boundaries of Europe, took root in other Continents and

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even began to penetrate into the ancient eastern cultures of the Indians, the Koreans, the Singhalese and the Chinese. Western culture therefore, embraces North and South America, with the exception of their colored indigenous population, and also the colonized parts of Africa and Australia and certain Asiatic coast on the Mediterranean. On the other hand, it certainly does not include all Indo-European peoples, and here we come to a decisive point in our study.

What then are we to understand by Western culture? Nothing more or less than a sum of spiritual and material accomplishments of abiding value, which, born and nurtured in definite conditions in Europe, have been transplanted to parts of the world overseas colonized by European peoples, and have developed further there. These definite conditions are five movements without which Western culture as we know it today, could not have developed, *viz.*, classical antiquity, Christianity, humanism, the Reformation and colonization. these are the springs that nourish our Western life and the contribution of individual Indo-European peoples to Western culture is computed by their respective share in these great movements. Before examining the part played here by peoples and groups of peoples, we must first shortly review our reasons for attributing decisive influence in shaping the destiny of Indo-European peoples to these movements rather than to others.

That our philosophy, art, politics, law, and a considerable portion of our material culture are fundamentally derived from the Greek and Roman world round the Mediterranean is as generally accepted as the fact that Hellenes and Romans in their turn, took considerable elements from older cultures, some of which are familiar and some scarcely known. But they were so successful in combining their own contributions with those of foreign origin into a harmonious whole, a universal style, that we may consider the Graeco-Roman word as the most complete early manifestation of the Indo-European spirit. Early in its history, this world began to split in a Western and an Eastern zone, the characteristic difference being that, in the East the classical world (of thought) met with highly developed foreign cultures by which it was permanently influenced, while in the West, it found peoples with a more primitive culture whom it assimilated. As, however, the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman empire were held together for centuries, partly by force and partly by diplomacy and as, after the decline of the so-called Western Roman Empire, the constant exchange of spiritual and material goods kept alive the feeling that they were parts of the same whole, nei-

ther the Balkan Peninsula nor the country round the Black Sea have been felt even in later centuries to be really oriental, in spite of the foolish saying that the Orient begins beyond Vienna. In both areas a Graeco-Roman provincial culture flourished, with the help of which "barbarian" peoples were zealous in shaping ideals; in eastern European countries, which are reckoned today as culturally poor there were often, in the Middle Ages, more distinct traces of the classical spirit than in the wooded mountains of Central Europe or on the shores of the North Sea.

Christianity was mainly responsible for preventing the complete collapse of the world of classical antiquity. This was, we admit, an oriental religion, but only in so far as Asiatic Palestine provided the embryonic sac it had to burst in order to make its way into the world. It was Rome and Byzantium that became Christian, not Jerusalem, and the more the Gospel spread among European peoples, the more spiritual it became. The spiritual needs of the Indo-Europeen community in all their variety, found final satisfaction in a faith that bound what was common to them all as human beings, neglecting national differences and that, at the same time, formed a bridge from antiquity to the post Roman world. It was not till the peoples of Europe were converted to Christianity that the essential community of interests was formed from which Western culture could spring. The other continents have not undergone the experience of religious unity, and that is why they have never been able to construct the common spiritual foundation which is characteristic for Europe. There are no non-Christian peoples in our continent, even those peoples who tried for a time to leave the Christian community, were so inextricably bound to that faith in all provinces of Western life that they (at least hitherto) always found their way back to it after a period of apostasy. This return to the fold took place as a result not only of religious revival but also of incapacity to found another view of the world in addition to the Christian. The foundations of their existence, to which they had to cling if they wanted to avoid shipwreck, were at the same time the foundations of their religion, a European language unaccompanied by the soft music of church-bells, is unthinkable.

And yet, what we might call the unconscious activity of classical antiquity and Christianity, in the form handed down throughout the centuries, did not suffice to produce what is known as western culture. Both movements had to be subjected to a process of fermentation and renewal, in which the Indo-European community of essential

interests developed a western common will. For the European world did indeed differ from the Asiatic in that it rebelled against the stubborn passivity of the east and was impelled by an irresistible dynamic force. The revival of classical activity and Christianity to form a new, western dimension is the work of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It was not by accident that these two movements which ushered in the modern era, took place almost at the same time. The classical world had been either forgotten or despised when the Grammarians were teaching at western seats of learning. Christianity, it is true, had become neither rigid, nor superficial in the monasteries of the Middle Age or in the common experience of the Crusades; but in the former, as in the latter, forces were stirring which could not be set free until their peculiarly European character and their western direction had been completely revealed. The Renaissance is not, as the term literally denotes, a "re-birth," but a new birth, and the Reformation, not a "re-formation", but a new formation. Up to 1450—the date stands for a turning point and not for any definite event—the spirit of the classical world was still alive, even if in a form, that was often misunderstood, decayed or petrified. What we call the Middle Ages is a purely artificial designation, for this term denotes in reality the period of incubation of the western will to culture, which required a thousand years to burst the sheath of the classical era. So, it is only natural that the Byzantine Empire, the visible incorporation of the classical world, should fall about the same date. The time was fulfilled and that explained the failure of the more recent attempts of Asia to prevent the emancipation of Europe for we are perfectly justified in including here the raids of the Turks into south-eastern Europe and their everrepeated attempts to beat back the western-Christian front from the Balkans. The humanists erred in believing that they could revive the spirit of classical antiquity in a milieu now ripe to receive it, by systematically reforming classical studies. They were assisting at the birth of a new man, who regarded the world quite differently from the Greek or the Roman of the classical world. In proclaiming the right of free research, conviction and individual responsibility, they were destroying the very forms which had lent the Hellanic world in incomparable harmony. By making the individual and his personal rights the pivot of his people's existence, they were throwing doubts on the ideals of "humanitas," the very principle they alleged to be serving. It is true that the Renaissance was the most fruitful mistake that European man has ever committed.

And how was it with Reformers of the church? Did they not proceed from the same idea, to quench the thirsty from the pure spring of the New Testament and to proclaim the lives of the early Christians, in all their simplicity, humility and purity, as an example to be imitated. The old faith was not only to remain untouched, but actually to be restored. Luther himself long believed that his work was nothing but a great purge, such as had frequently taken place in the history of the church. Posterity alone was in a position to perceive that the new relationship between God and man, justified by the New Testament, was in reality a sign of the revolution throughout the western world. As, however, not all of the European peoples finally accepted the new faith, although at the beginning it had met almost everywhere with surprising sympathy, a new and hopeless chasm would have arisen, if the old Church had not also subjected itself to spiritual reform, if it had not abandoned its oriental leanings and become a community of the faithful illumined from the west. This did not happen everywhere, nor to the same extent, just as, in addition to Lutheranism, there was also room for important and profitable activity on the part of the disciples of Calvin, Zwingli, Zinzendorf and other smaller groups. Of far-reaching consequence was the fact that the eastern church did not follow the lead of the western at that time, though invited to do so by individual reformers from Tubingen, Ureoh and even Wittenberg. And this, as we shall shortly see, led to the incongruency between Europe and the western world.

Finally, the western era was ushered in by a third motemen which is essentially characteristic for it, *viz.*, by the inclusion of the entire globe within the radius of man's imagination and by the irresistible impulse to colonize and civilize it.

Colonization was also undertaken in Ancient Rome, but from other motives. Foreign provinces were conquered to render more secure what had already been won and in order to push the constantly threatened boundaries of the empire as far away as possible from its heart. Of course the conqueror was anxious for wealth and fame in order to consolidate his position in the capital, but the trouble and expense involved would scarcely have been incurred. had the process of civilizing been the only, or even the main object. To endow Roman provinces with civil rights was a favour when practical motives did not demand it. In Roman colonization the military motive was predominant, while the western world colonized mainly as a missionary enterprise, as we can see whether we think of the

Crusades to the Holy Land or the heathen countries in the east of Europe or of the conquest of the New World for Christ, as promulgated by Spain. For, however, prominent interested motives of individuals and countries were, the piratical voyages to the New World were justified in the eyes of the masses only as being undertaken in the service of religion and civilization (these being insolubly bound in a manner typical for the west). We do not forget for one moment how many noble intentions were counterfeited, only half carried out or not even started, the point is that they were always felt to be the instrument of a special mission. It was not only the Cross that was to rule over the whole world, but also the spirit of the western world, we might indeed almost speak of the "Holy Spirit" of the western world, if that did not sound like blasphemy. In practice this spirit varied according to the nation in question, but a certain western solidarity was always felt (if not always practised) as soon as that solidarity was threatened. In spite of the apparently irreconcilable nations contrasts which have rent Europe, the feeling of a western commonwealth made uninterrupted progress and the moment has now come when we must be perfectly clear about what it means.

Classical antiquity, Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the colonization of the world are then the badges of membership in the western community of culture. Only people who have experienced these movements, or at least have made even a limited contribution towards them, but also only peoples who *wanted* to possess them, are nations of western stamp. No one will deny that there are important degrees of variation here, which have nothing to do with the talent or readiness of a people, but with its historical destiny. The fact that Europe has not yet reached its goal will comfort late-comers as well as those who ran in the first lap of the race, for as long as life in Europe follows its dynamic course, Europe is still alive, the West has not declined.

We now ask to what extent the three main groups in the community of Indo-European language have contributed to the development of western culture. We understand by the three main groups, the Latins (French, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and Irish), the Teutonic peoples (English, Scots, Flemings, Frisians, Icelanders, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans) and the Slavs (Great Russians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks); a fourth group, a group containing a mixture of Slav, Latin, Illyrien, Hellenic and Teutonic elements is the Balkan community of nations (Serbs, Croets, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Greeks, Albanians).

The Finnish-Ugrian group of Hungarians, Finns, Esthonians and Turks and the Baltic group of the Letts and Lithuanians come last. This division is somewhat arbitrary; from the point of view of language, for instance the Irish cannot be classified with the Latin peoples, while the Rumanians, judging from the structure of their language, should belong to the Latin Group. Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians are doubtless Slav peoples; but if we nevertheless here classify them with Rumanians, Greeks and Albanians, it is because the peoples of the Balkans have been welded into a peculiar community by 400 years of Turkish rule.

If we first take these nations in their relation to classical antiquity, we see that the Latin and the Balkan groups are nearest it in time and historical development. An uninterrupted connection between past and present can be traced in Italy and on the Mediterranean shores of the Balkan peninsula, in Spain and round the gulf of Lyons where visible evidences of the vanished culture of Greece and Rome are most abundant, though also present in general moral attitude and external style, in language and racial features. Neither Greeks nor Italians are the pure descendants of those generations that produced the greatness of Greece and the glory of Rome in both nations infiltrations have taken place that have often thinned blood to a point beyond recognition. But the same language the same landscape and a common historical consciousness have continued to put the stamp of their revered forefathers on the inhabitants of those latitudes, so that, even in the epoch of decline, and even in classes of society with little historical sense, something of the world of Eschyles and Tacitus has persisted throughout the centuries. In Gaul, a population that was particularly flexible and talented, assimilated in a long and peaceful process the heritage of classical culture fairly early and after relatively negligible resistance; perhaps also because there was much in common between the Celtic and the Latin temperaments. The Gaul grew into the Roman tradition, it became his second nature. Gallia cisalpina and transalpina—the very names show the intimate connection between Rome and Gaul, even if the native Roman for centuries sensed alien traits in French character (in the mean time strongly influenced by Germanic elements) which caused him particular difficulty.

The Latinized Iberians also felt at home in the Roman Empire at an early date, though they were not absorbed therein to same extent as the Gauls. They gave imperial Rome so many eminent personalities that it is difficult to underestimate their direct contri-

bution to the extension and defence of the Roman Empire. It is true that the latter invasions of the Arabs forced the Spanish world into a course of its own, which, however, cannot be said to have deflected from classical antiquity, for we must not forget that the scholarship of Islam in the last quarter of the first thousand years after Christ contained a considerable share of the spiritual heritage of the eastern Roman Empire.

Development followed a different course in the Balkan peninsula. Its great importance during the later centuries of the Empire, despite the fact that it was largely the living center of the Greek world, did not preserve it from neglect by the good luck of history. Classical antiquity split here, the line separating the Latin from the Byzantine world ran right through the Balkans. Here, for a thousand years, the balance weighing the rights of Europe against the claims of Asia was held. And here, in the end, the harmony and grace of the classical world degenerated into a coarse barbaric provincialism which fell before Turkish tyranny even before it had had time to work out its own salvation.

Nevertheless it is no accident that the peoples round the Mediterranean feel themselves to be the chosen heirs of classical antiquity, and therefore, in their opinion, also of western culture. If connection with the Mediterranean world were the sole issue, we might understand why the French regard the Rhine, and the Italians the Alps, or at best the Danube, as the proper boundary of western culture, ascribing everything beyond to barbaric arrogance. One might understand, without approving. For the Teutonic peoples inhabit an area, of which only a tiny portion was influenced by classical antiquity, and where the dark forests were untouched by the breath of the southern sea ; but they have played far too active a part in Greek, and still more in Roman life for them to bow acquiescence to the self-confidence of the Latins. How much Teutonic and Hellenic peoples influenced each other has not yet been sufficiently studied, but the fact of this influence has been generally accepted. In the case of the eastern and western Roman Empires, however, the part played by their Teutonic opposites is essential both at the zenith of their fame and in their years of catastrophe. And if we can say that the spirit of antiquity was attracted to the Latin peoples as a gift-laden and generous goddess, we may see in the Teutonic peoples a passionate lover who hurried south to fling himself on the bosom of the same goddess, at the risk even of being crushed by the supernatural forces in her embrace.

The popular view expressed in the history books of the past was that the invasion of the Teutonic tribes dealt the fatal blow to classical antiquity. We should be inclined to say the opposite and to aver that the Teutonic tribes prevented the extinction of the classical world because they transformed it and infused new life into it. It may be that they have never attained and never will attain certain ideals of the old world which Latin peoples have today "in their blood"; on the other hand they developed others which were only present there in embryo.

The Teutonic experience of the classical world was, at any rate, much more direct, profound and abiding than that of the Slabs. Not only that the latter saw the light of history at a much later date, and at a far more primitive stage of their own development, which meant that they only received the crumbs that fell from the banquet; some of them did not come into contact with the classical world at all. It was only the Slavs south of the Danube and on the Pontium coasts as far as Kiev who turned to the spires of golden Byzantium, while the tracts of the western Balkan coasts, that were settled by Croats and Slovenes, received the rays of the setting sun of Rome and the rising sun of Venice. The rest of the Slavonic world is wrapped in the twilight of history until its conversion to Christianity, which does not mean that there was no contact with the classical world, but that it was not of any significance; if the Latin peoples are legitimate, and the Teutonics the illegitimate children of classical antiquity one might call the east and north-east Slavs its adopted sons who received the classical heritage at second hand and clothed in the rigid formalism of the eastern church.

Early culture in the western world then declines from west to east, but also from south to north. The inhabitants of Scandinavia and of parts of the British Isles and of Iceland were not so remote from the center of Mediterranean culture as would appear from geography. For in early times their coasts were opened up and above all, they came into direct contact with Byzantium and Rome through the waterways of the eastern rivers. It is also probable that connections between emigrated Teutonic tribes and those at home were much more intimate and lasting than was long supposed. Trade with the amber coast of the Baltic was ancient and part of Britain was just as thoroughly colonized by the Romans as the west and south of Germany.

CALCUTTA CALCUTTA

The organization of the Roman Empire provided the most essential condition for the astonishingly rapid spread of Christianity once it had penetrated the administrative apparatus of the Empire and found a footing in the army. Where administration was firmly established in Roman provinces, the spread of Christianity was, to a certain degree, organic. Where this was not the case, e.g., above all in regions settled by Slavonic and Baltic tribes and in certain parts of Northern Germany, missionary enterprises had to be launched, partly by peaceful methods, partly by bloody conflict that lasted for generations. The Slavonic tribes who lay within the radius of Byzantine influence, accepted Christianity in many cases without resistance. Practical political considerations were almost always the main motive; rulers in Bulgaria, Serbia, the Ekraine, Moraravia Poland and Muscovite Russia recognized that the Christian creed also provided the conditions for "western equality". Whether the eastern or the western church was joined, was sometimes a matter of chance; Boris the Great of Bulgaria, for instance, negotiated for years with both Rome and Byzance; Europe would probably present a different picture today, if the Holy See had recognized the importance of his decision, just as the fate of Poland would have been quite different if it had been possible to avoid contrasts with its eastern neighbours in things ecclesiastical. The fact that Poles, Czechs, Croats and Slovenes and other smaller Slavonic tribes in the east became Roman Catholic, brought about the religious division in the third main indo-european group 500 years earlier than that in the two others and did much to put a brake on Slavonic influence and the rate of its cultural development.

Such speculation about the past may be worthless because they overlook the fact that the causes of the event reflected here lie deep in the psychology of the difierent peoples; even a universal religion is conditioned as to form, and development by people, history and climate. The difference in development between the eastern and western churches was not the result of accidental antithesis in dogma or of conflicting political interests; Christianity in the world of eastern Europe had perforce to assume other forms, because its adherents there differed in nature from the Latin peoples. No matter what the direct cause of its origin was, the orthodox church became the church of the Slavs; that the west Slavs chose the Roman church is due to the influence of their Teutonic neighbours which made itself felt in all other provinces of Life as well. In the movements of the Czechs towards reform of the church (though they were soon diverted to

aims of national politics) the German recognized spirit of his spirit. So it was also inevitable that the third main Indo-european group, the community of Teutonic nations, should give a special shape to its Christian faith.

The idea of renewing the Roman Empire, through the empire of the Franks and the Germans weakened the consciousness of its own individuality among the Teutonic community of peoples. Central Europe regarded itself as heir to the old world, not only in the political, but also in the cultural sense, as the respectful student of theories, on which life seemed founded for all time. The Teutonic peoples never lacked pride, but probably self-confidence, because the classical heritage came to them at a time when they were spiritually not yet able to appropriate it completely. From Charles the Great until Charles the Fifth we watch the Germans struggling under a burden of a powerful process of assimilation. All the time there were outbreaks of native creative energy, but these made less mark in the areas inhabitad by Teutonic peoples than in adjacent countries. The necessity of organizing that part of Europe which had never known the order of Roman rule led to an activity of expansion during which the Germans neglected their own affairs. Only after the completion of their task—the Christianization of Eastern Europe, the extension of the commerce of Central Europe to the countries of Britain, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe and the unfortunately inadequate attempts to ward off the attacks of Asia on the weak south-eastern flank, only when at the same time, the classical heritage radiated from Italy the fresh glory it had assumed, did Christianity take on a new form in Luthers Reformation.

This, as we said already, is intimately connected with a revival of vitality over most of the continent, a movement in which we see the real and of the ancient world and the beginning of western maturity and culture. However much was new in History eversince Caesar's reform of the calendar, the innovation of the juncture, the juncture, the new thing, did not appear till now when the right of the individual as opposed to nature, the mob, tradition, as opposed even to what had been considered as the will of God, was proclaimed. It is impossible to give even an outline of the peculiar traits of western methods of thinking and acting. We confine ourselves to the central fact that, from now on, the individual is shifted to the center of life and finally to the cosmos.

It is astounding that this process should have been felt as the rebirth of classical antiquity, when in reality, it was its end. What

the Greek tragic poets regarded as the most heinous of crimes and the curse of whole generations and nations—the hybrids of man confronting the power of the gods, his Promethean arrogance in stealing fire from heaven and, as a mortal, making it eternal,—that was the postulate of a new "humanity" whose image was erected at a crossroads. The one road led to Hictzsch's discovery that God is dead and the other to the message of Angelus Silesius that the existence of God cannot be conceived apart from that of man.

Renaissance and humanism grew on Latin soil, inspired and nurtured by spiritual leaders of the Byzantine world like Plethon Gemistos. From this point of view it might appear that Mediterranean culture had been re-born on the uniform foundations of classical antiquity. But about the same time as the schoolmen became the heralds of this renewed unity at Italian courts, the Byzantine Empire collapsed and the invasion of the Turks destroyed in its beginning the consciousness of a western kinship between all European peoples. The orthodox church was now thrown on its own resources, part of its adherents enslaved to the Turkish invader, and the Russian Ukrainian East deprived of all political power by political changes in the Middle East, shut off from the life of Central Europe by the increasing power of Poland and thus prevented from sharing in spiritual movements in the west. German humanists, however, set free in Germany forces that had been stirring for a century; the national idea began to flame up and, in the province of religion, a tremendous upheaval occurred in which the Teutonic world awoke to consciousness of itself. It is true, that the Reformation took permanent hold of only part of Germany; after what has been said, we are not astonished that the formerly latinized provinces of the west and south should have remained more faithful to their traditions than the north and east. Nor are we astonished that French Protestantism after a heroic struggle failed, as movement to embrace the whole nation and emigrated for the most part to Germany or that Luther's teaching should have caused in south England only a conditional severance from Catholicism while Celtic Ireland remained untouched by it; Scandinavia, on the other hand, whose people were Teutonic and Finnish in origin, embraced it whole-heartedly. In Hungary, however, where we already noticed in the interaction of liguistic influences, Calvinism took permanent root, although the first movements of the Reformation there had been Lutheran; towns and villages whose population was mainly German, remained Lutheran. Hungary demonstrated once more how intimate its connections with Germanic

Central Europe were in spite of all instinctive reservations and how determined it was to prevent either ethnological group from gaining the upper hand, in the country's development.

Our observations would end in a blind alley, were it not possible to establish the great influence of the Reformation on German Catholicism. However untouched the external unity of the Roman church in the west remained, profound but absolutely neutral differences were revealed in the course of time between the Catholic church in Teutonic and in Latin countries. The Catholicism of the Dominicans and the Jesuits, which was Spanish in origin, is very different in temperament from the happy, childlike faith of the Bavarians; the Latin and Germanic styles have preserved their independence even where the connections between those two Indo-European groups were and are most intimate. And yet the fact that is was not possible to maintain religious unity among Germanic nations had serious consequence for the political development of Europe, however fruitful for many provinces of culture the contrast proved.

Humanism and the Reformation provided the last bridges between Russia and the west. As they were not and could not be used, Russia seceded from the community of western nations and all later attempts to restore connections failed. The frontier of the west coincided with the eastern boundary of Poland though that was not fixed, and when the conscientious observer thinks of the Ukraine, he must doubt the finality of that line. The same holds in an increased degree for the peoples of the Balkans. If, as we are convinced, the will to belong to a cultural community counts for more than the course of history or as ethnological facts, than not only Greece and Rumania, but also Balkan Slavs belong to the western community of nations, in spite of their orthodox church and although they experienced only the backwash of the Reformation, so to speak, and though mere fringes of the country were touched by humanism. Fate withheld decision from them four hundred years later than from the other nations of Europe, but all who are familiar with their liberation from the Turks and with the three subsequent generations, knows that the longing for Europe was always much stronger than the bonds with the east which were conditioned by the church and ties of blood. It is true that for long they could contribute only indirectly to the structure of the western culture, being as they were an advanced outpost which had to bear the burden of defending the Christian faith against attacks from Asia, now impassionate conflict, now in resigned silence. Millions of their racial brethren who could

already share western life within the empire of Austria-Hungary have waged an honest and successful battle.

The loss of Indo-European elements in the eastern part of the west was compensated for by extension overseas. Colonisation, above all of America, put on intercontinental stamp on western life, *i.e.*, made it universal. On its foundation, ethnologically as well as culturally, a new nation arose in North America and a new state was born in a way that was revoluntionary for Europe. For while Europe was still struggling in the throes of an insane chauvinism, the melting of the differences between Indo-Europeans had already been accomplished overseas without a murmur. Just think what it means that national differences between 150 million people that were considered to be insuperable in Europe, could be solved without serious or lengthy strife. American immigration regulations, which have often been accused of being contrary to democratic freedom, suddenly assume another aspect. If America wanted to cling to western culture, a definite proportion had to be fixed for immigrants according to their nationality. The numbers neither of eastern Slavs nor of eastern Asiatics might exceed a certain limit, otherwise the balance would have been disturbed. It is certain that western culture will be considerably modified by American and other overseas influences in course of time. We Europeans must recognise clearly that western culture no longer belongs exclusively to us. And, can we deny that western culture is at this very moment, faced with changes in its original inhabitat, such as history has not known since the end of the classical world? Americans who think that they might one day develope style that was quite emancipated from Europe, are probably wrong. The United States belong as much to the Indo-European community of language as the Creoles of South America, the Boers of South Africa or the white population of Australia. It is possible that in mixtures of peoples, as in chemistry, the qualities of various components may disappear and others emerge, but complete severance from the original base is impossible. In other words, western community of culture is more than a European order ; it embraces countries colonized overseas, lets them share in the treasures it preserves but also presupposes a corresponding assumption of responsibility.

Active Cooperation in Europe

Since the beginning of last century voices have been increasingly heard warning us of the approach of a crisis in the development of

life in Europe and the west, of a crisis of catastrophic extent, and entailing the decline of the west and the very existence of European peoples. The reasons for this pessimism were not difficult to discern, but the universal belief in progress in the 19th century was so convinced of its infallibility that the warners were so many voices crying in the wilderness, till World-War I laid secret places bare and men who previously had been full of confidence, slunk off the stage. The five fundamental motives of western culture powers was to be stabilized under the cloak of equality.

So it was in keeping with the logic of western and European history that the Slav group should now have come to the fore. The anchorage of Europe was no longer to be metaphysical, as in the Reich; nor was it to be combined on a foundation of national policies, as in the balance of power; it was to be founded on social economy and, at the same time, cut away all traditions that were opposed to the new movement. The fundamental principles of bolshevism came from the west though from a sphere which, uptill now had not been productive, politically speaking; but it, like Christianity before it, crystallized as dogma to suit Russian mentality and as that was perhaps European, but certainly not western, the two other main Indo-European groups instinctively resisted. Resistance as one would expect appeared first in Italy, which felt itself to be the peculiar heir of western culture, as fascism, then in Germany as national socialism. The three modern attempts to set up new aims for Europe are extremely alike in their essentials, which cannot surprise us after what has been said, but as they came from only a section of European thought and declared themselves authoritative or, in other words, as they desired the supremacy of one of the main groups of Indo-european peoples. When salvation lay in the concerted action of all westerners, their efforts were deemed to failure from the outset; national socialism and fascism ended of necessity in a fearful catastrophe, because they had rebelled again the very soul of the west, while bolshevism, as far as we can judge, today failed only where it has attempted to force its power on non-Slav peoples.

While European nationalism was entering on its last violent stage, the idea of the League of Nations, or even of the United Nations in the western world overseas was not only discussed (as it had also been in Europe) but also put boldly into practice. It had been born in a state which, as we said already, was evidently predestined to reconcile contrasts between European nations in the

natural course of its development. There is no need to mention the inadequacies that hampered the League of Nations and that UN will have to get rid of; we also leave it an open question whether the American idea of a community of peoples that is political and at the same time international and universal (not regional) in character, is the fine form of this idea; it is Wilson's and Roosevelt's merit that the salvation of Europe and western culture is seen to lie in the political amalgamation of western communities with the same will and that this path has been cleared of many prejudices. This is the decisive contribution of the branch foundations of Europe and it is no mean service to their spiritual home.

For, in addition to UN, an organization that, from its very universal nature, must first be a loosely bound and constantly threatened union of independent nations, and to a more solidly constructed system of world government, closer ties between the different members of the western nations in Europe leading to common political action, are not superfluous, but all the more necessary. Only if this western Europe can be preserved and made capable of taking action, only if it can concentrate the forces it has hitherto vested in internal strife on an efficient defence of its substance, and at long last put the ideals of its culture into practised virtues will it be possible for us to enter with confidence into the third and probably final phase of Indo-european development. There must be a western Europe only, not a Latin, Teutonic or Slav Europe; otherwise we cannot preserve contact with the western world overseas. For the question we are faced with in this third and last phase of development is not simply whether we are to help a weary cultural organism by giving it injections, a cultural organism, moreover whose modes of expression do not appear so valuable to young nations overseas as to us; we are confronted with problem that concerns the very foundations of western life, *viz.*, can our culture remain to be based on the rights of the individual, or are we now at the dawn of the age of the masses?

Very few will contend that individualism as we know it, is sufficient for a social development of Europe. On the other hand, wherever, in the last two years, freedom of expression was permitted people have just as unanimously decided against communism. An international organisation of European peoples can only be built up on a synthesis of the two extremes; that is the first essential condition. In the United States of Europe, if that organisation wishes to acknowledge western traditions, there is room neither

for totalitarian nor purely capitalist powers. Individual freedom and social responsibility are the patron saints of this European union whose doors will open to whoever sincerely respects both ; religious tolerance and an international legal code will create an atmosphere in which life will once more be as worthliving as it was five hundred years ago. The sacrifice that the nations of our continent must make in forfeiting some of their material independence, will be returned with interest as gain in spiritual freedom. In the future, western men will continue to wear his national costume and speak his mother-tongue, as a sportsman wears his club colours when he enters the arena of friendly competition. But over the colours of his country a banner will waive that is more venerable than any other ; it will show him that the good and bad luck of his former enemies were in reality also his own good and bad luck. Scales fall from his eyes as he realizes that the peoples of Europe in astounding blindness have for two thousand years preferred death to live and that they have constantly sought to transform this error into truth.

The union of the European peoples and the political organization of the west, both, as we have said already, can be merely an link in a " World Government " which has to guard the fate of humanity that is so gravely threatened today. We children of the 20th century cannot imagine it except as created spirit of our spirit ; but perhaps it would be well to remember that the heirs of the western traditions do not constitute the majority of the inhabitants of the world. Hitherto the west has prescribed the laws of international life and the Anglo-Saxon powers still have it in their power to realize what has hitherto being reckoned utopian. But only if the other nations of the west follow their lead, and renounce the spirit of chauvinism which meantime is irressistibly invading Asia and Africa, can we hope to be able to hand on to the next generation life that is worth-living.

Is the formation of the United States of Europe complicated by the fact that an unnatural line of division, drawn at present from Lubeck to Trieste, has split our continent into two? We do not think so, because this very fact reveals the urgent necessity for union which alone, in the long run, can raise the iron curtain again. Painful birth throes must be suffered before the union of European nations come into being. The question of political leadership, of economic coordination and international collaboration in the contest of world forces, the subduing of national egoism-difficulties mount sky high

as soon as we turn from the proclamation of the union to its realization. It is a blessing that the difficulties are still more insurmountable without the union, so that fate will compel us to accomplish what good will alone cannot. And this compulsion is the only one to which we as Europeans and devotees of western culture will joyfully bow in future. For it alone can guarantee the realization of the divine benediction.

"Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis!" *

* Translated by Margaret Senft, M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

ART—WHAT IT AIMS AT

SUDHIR NANDI, M.A.

In the words of a strict idealist of the Samkarite school we may define art not only as self-objectification but also as its transcendence at the same time. It is enjoyed objectively as well as conscious self-freeing as the witnessing of the enjoyed self-objectivity. It will be easier if we try to understand the definition with the help of a simile. Let us take the case of a jaundiced man who sees yellow everywhere. Now, the patient may see yellow and may not know its cause. Again, he may see yellow fully knowing that his eye is jaundiced. In the latter case the 'seeing is also a seeing through and so far self-freeing from the object seen'. This latter case has true application in the sphere of art. With this interpretation of art, we may proceed to find out the object of art, *i.e.*, what it aims at.

There is no denying the fact that art and poetry have long since been harnessed for ministering to the needs of man. It ministers to the needs of our lower self and this forsakes its ideal nature. 'Art in industry' is no longer unknown even to a man on the street and we all know and admit that in all such cases art is far away from displaying its real virtues. So Hegel was right in denouncing all such misuse of art: 'In this mode of employment, art is indeed not independent, not free but service' (Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art). Indeed, in all such misuse of art it is not free from other considerations. It is subservient to some other end. It thus prostitutes its true mission for serving the cause of some other earthly purpose. A poet or painter may employ his talents for pleasing his lord, for amusing the people at large or for simply making money, but that is not the aim of fine arts. Sometimes he may be a Pope or a Dryden in the sense that he simply mocks at other people with the help of the muses at his command, but in that case he fails in his mission. Pope or Dryden is poet only when he not only satirises people but also caters pure joy to his readers as well as to himself *i.e.*, in a word, when he enjoys his self-objectification in poetry and contemplates this enjoyment. We may be court-poets and we may sing praise to our lords with poetic hyperboles. But that is not

the end of poetry nor of fine arts as there is no element of emotional delight on either side. In the words of Aristotle, we may say that the object of poetic as of all fine arts is to produce an emotional delight, a pure and elevated pleasure. One should note that the pleasure that we derive from poetry or fine arts must be 'pure' and 'elevated'. It should not be the pleasure of the lower self. It is better to use the word 'emotional delight' or 'joy'. We may drive pleasure from horse-racing or from sipping ice-cream on a midsummer day. But that is not the type of pleasure we derive from artistic creations. Butcher is explict in explaining the nature of this artistic pleasure, as expounded by Aristotle, in his article entitled 'The End of fine Arts' : "Each is a moment of joy complete in itself and belongs to the ideal sphere of supreme happiness". Here the nature of pleasure has well been defined by the use of the word 'moment of joy complete in itself' and 'ideal sphere of supreme happiness'. The moment of poetic joy is complete in itself. We completely lose ourselves in it and it has no reference to some other extraneous motif. This joy is supreme, *i.e.*, it is not subservient to some other end and it is of the ideal sphere. All these observations imply that in artistic enjoyment there is no reference to the lower self or man. In artistic creation, as well as in appreciation the spirit enjoys its self-objectification and contemplates it. Thus we wholly agree with one of the eminent modern philosophers, when he holds that art is both enjoyment and free contemplation, enjoyed objectivity as well as detached contemplation of it. The aim of art is incorporated in its very definition. It is enjoyment, no doubt, but some thing more. It is contemplation free and independent, objectivity is being enjoyed in art and the enjoyment contemplated.

Appreciation is in a sense creation. There is no qualitative distinction between the two. The critic to be a real one must be as great as the creator himself. The poet leads his kindly light amid the encircling gloom and the reader follows him intently. The poet leads him to the land of poetic joy, where, as I have already pointed out, each is a moment of joy complete in itself and belongs to the ideal sphere of supreme happiness. Bergson, while explaining the aim of art, tells us that the aim of art, indeed, is to put to sleep the active powers of our personality and so to bring us to a perfect state of docility in which we sympathise with the emotion expressed. Bergson is euphemistic. We not only sympathise but we are one with the poet in the matter of appreciation. From the Bergsonian

point of view, it is true that the reader recreates what the poet has already created. The joy of the poet at the movement of creation is being shared by the reader in the hour of appreciation. Wordsworth writes in his 'Poetry and Poetic Diction' : "Whatever passions he communicates to his readers, those passions, if his reader's mind be sound and vigorous, should always be accompanied with an overbalance of pleassure". This is the true diagnosis of the nature of poetic appreciation. In such appreciations, the reader is no longer isolated in his domain bound by time and place but he is far ahead of his time and is one with the poet in his emotional enjoyment. The poet directly communicates to his reader all the elegance and grandeur of his emotional experience and the reader is amply rewarded with an 'over balance of pleasure.' 'Pleasure', to be more precise, 'pure joy' is the end of art. We derive joy from the tragic end of the Prince of Denmark as well as from the happy union of Romeo and Juliet. In Indian Rasa Shastra, we hear both of *madhura rasa* and *karuna rasa*. They may differ in some qualifying clause but essentially both are *rasas*, *i.e.*, source of joy or joy itself. We enjoy the tragic happenings and their enjoyment is far more intense than that of the less serious comedies.

Exponents of Indian Aesthetics, likewise, point out that pure joy is the end of art. Ānandabardhan in his famous work Dhvanyā loka defines poetry as that which delights the readar : সহৃদয় হৃদয়াহ্লাদি শব্দার্থময়ত্বনেব কাব্যলক্ষণম্—ধ্বন্যালোক ১।১ বৃত্তি (sahridaya hridayālyādi Śabdārthamayatvaneba Kāvyalakshanam). The nature of delight of which Ānandabardhan speaks has been amply explained by Jagannāth when he says that it is লোকোত্তর আহ্লাদ (lokottara āllādh) *i.e.*, it does not pertain to the ordinary pleasures of this mundane world. It is clear that art has nothing to do with our animal pleasures. It always refers to our higher self. So Croce comes closer to Jagannāth when he calls it 'pure poetic joy'. In his opinion, it is free from the alloy of pleasure that arises from the satisfaction of carnal desires or worldly hankerings. So it is pure joy in the sense of the Upanisads : রসো বৈ সঃ, রসং হ্যেবায়ং লব্ধানন্দী ভবতি (Raso Vai Sa, Rasam heybāyam labdhānandi bhabati)—Taittirio Upanisads). It is the highest conception of joy ; so it is one with the Absolute. The jiva or the finite self becomes one with the Absolute through the medium of this pure poetic joy. Hegel is right when he declares that art is the Absolute mediating itself in the consciousness of the finite as objective sensuous image. His triad of art, religion and

philosophy as the successive stages of this self-mediation through self-objectification may not be accepted for one reason or other but we can fully understand the meaning of artistic joy in Hegel's philosophy in the light of the Upanisads and the self-realisation of the Absolute through the medium of Croce's 'pure poetic joy'.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION IN INDIA

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Sir Henry Maine's well-known dictum regarding the movement of progressive human society appears to have lost much of its practical validity with the rapid incursion of legislation into private life. Indeed, "progressive" society to-day believes neither in status nor in the unrestricted freedom of contract, and the encroachment on the liberty of the individual is attributable, in the main, to the complexity of the modern industrial organisation and to the need for protecting the individual from its consequences. Nowhere perhaps is the need for State-intervention in defence of the individual more patent than in the field of industrial labour. In every country, Governmental action in this direction has largely been the outcome of public agitation against the evils of *laissez faire*.

The Government of India recognised in principle the need for legislative measures for regulating industrial relations years ago. In practice, Government machinery until recently, tended to move much too slowly. In refreshing contrast to its earlier inaction, the recent enactment by the Government of a number of protective labour laws, and, particularly, of the Minimum Wage Bill, suggests, however, that the ghost of *laissez faire* has, at last been laid to rest.

All legislative measures for the benefit of labour are calculated in the final analysis, to raise the workers' standard of living and to ensure better working conditions ; viewed in this light the Minimum Wage Act in India is part of an organic whole* and the following study of this recent statute isolated from all allied measures, is necessarily somewhat incomplete.

The origin of the present Act may be traced to the 7th session of the Indian Labour Conference held at New Delhi on November 27/28, 1945. This conference expressed itself in favour of the enanctment of minimum wage legislation in India and resolved to constitute a committee representing both Capital and Labour to give

* "There is no essential difference in principle between fixing minimum wage and fixing minimum hours of labour."—Richardson : A Study on the Minimum Wages, p. 11.

expert advice to the Government. Following the deliberations of this conference Dr. Ambedkar, then Law Member, introduced a Minimum Wage Bill in the Central Assembly. Owing possibly to the fluid political situation in the country, the Bill lay in cold storage for long months, and it was left to Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the present Labour Minister, to rescue the Bill from oblivion and, after certain amendments, to pilot it to enactment in February, 1948.

The Act extends to all provinces and is applicable, in the first instance, to the following employments. The appropriate authority may, however, bring, after notification in the prescribed manner, other employments within its scope:

(1) Employment in any woolen carpet making or shawl-weaving establishment; (2) employment in any rice mill, flour mill, dal mill; (3) employment in any tobacco (including bidi making) manufactory; (4) employment in tea, coffee, cinchona or rubber plantations; (5) employment in oil mills; (6) employment under Local Authority; (7) employment in road construction or in building operations; (8) employment in stone-breaking or stone-crushing; (9) employment in lac factories; (10) employment in Mica works; (11) employment in Public Motor transport; (12) employment in tanneries; (13) employment in agriculture.

The Act requires the appropriate authority to fix, before the expiry of two years from the commencement of the Act, minimum rates of wages payble in all scheduled employments except agriculture. In the case of agriculture, a maximum period of three years is allowed.

The appropriate authority is to review and, if necessary, revise the rates thus fixed at intervals not exceeding five years.

The appropriate authority is the Central Government where the employment is subject to the control of the Central Government, the Federal Railway authority or a Federal Railway Company or where the employment relates to mines, oil fields, major ports or Corporations established by an Act of the Central legislature. In all other cases, responsibility lies with the Provincial Governments.

The minimum rates fixed may consist of a basic wages plus a cost of living allowance adjusted to changes in the cost of living index no.; or a basic wage (with or without cost of living allowance) plus cash value of essential commodities supplied at concession rates where such supply is authorised; or an all-inclusive basic rate.

In fixing minimum rates for the first time in any scheduled employment the appropriate Government may either appoint an

advisory committee with necessary sub-committees, to hold enquiries, or the Government may publish its own proposals for the benefit of the persons concerned. After considering the available advice or representations, the Government may determine the rates after proper notification. To revise minimum rates already fixed, the appropriate authority must appoint advisory Committees and sub-Committees and consult them prior to such revision.

To co-ordinate the work of the various Committees and sub-Committees and to advise the Government an advisory Committee is to be set up. The Central Government is further required to appoint a Central Advisory Board to advise the central and provincial Governments.

There shall be parity, on the various Committees, sub-committees and advisory boards, between the representatives of employers and employees. Besides, independent members, whose number shall not exceed one-third of the total number of members in the Committee, sub-Committee or board, will also be nominated, and one of them will preside.

After fixing minimum rates in any employment, the appropriate authority is further authorised to (*i*) determine the number of hours of work constituting a working day, (*ii*) to provide for a holiday with pay in every week, and (*iii*) decide a rate of payment not lower than the overtime rate for work on holidays.

Before going into the merits of the Act, it is perhaps pertinent to enquire whether wages in India call for any statutory regulation at all.

It is a well-known fact that wages in this country do not follow a single pattern. The U. P. Labour Enquiry Committee's (1946-48) analysis of the wage problem in U. P. reveals, among others, the following characteristics: (*a*) the non-standardised nomenclature of industrial occupations, (*b*) disproportionately large number of wage rates and the unscientific differentials on which they are based, (*c*) large variations in the rates prevailing in different concerns for similar occupations, (*d*) low and inadequate level of wages, (*e*) continuance of old basic rates which are now quite inadequate, (*f*) disproportionately small increase in earnings in 1939 compared to the cost of living.

These features of the wage situation, which are not restricted to the U. P. alone, but are to be noticed all over India, will be discussed at some length later on; for the present, however, attention may be confirmed to the variety and inadequacy of wages, which alone, it will be shown, justify regulation.

Table I shows the average annual earnings, over a number of years, of workers in certain industries in the different provinces. The figures indicate wide disparities in earnings among industries and provinces.

Table II shows the average daily basic rate and the average daily earnings of certain categories of workers in the Cotton Textile industry at different provincial centres while Table III demonstrates the variability of wages in the same industry at different centres within the Bombay Presidency.

Without adding to the mass of figures, it may further be pointed out that investigations conducted in 1934 by the Bombay Labour Office into wages and unemployment in the Cotton Textile industry revealed bewildering variations in average earnings and rates of payments between different units at Bombay and Sholapur. In fact, in Bombay (Ward G) the range of variation in the average daily earnings of ring siders was found to be as high as 5 as. 9p.

The foregoing figures do not show even a remote tendency for wages to equalise in similar occupations in the same industry, whether at the same centre or at different centres.

"Prices," wrote Prof. Fisher, "do not move in unison; they are like the scattered fragments of a bursting shell." Curiously enough, in India, wages appear to be less disciplined than even prices. They are like frolicsome, self-willed children playfully eluding the fondly cherished theories of economists who pin their faith on the "automatic" mechanism of the labour market.

It is unnecessary to consider whether conditions obtaining in India satisfy all the tests of a free market. Suffice it to say that industries in this country cannot reasonably complain of an overdose of interference either from the state or from organised bodies of employers and workers. The prevailing wage disparities are attributable to unequal industrial development of the country, differential level in the cost of living, the influence of localisation, the ignorance and weak bargaining power of labour, costs of movement, and a variety of other factors, in short, causes which, in no way, warrant a policy of "leave alone."

There is another aspect of the wage situation, *viz.*, the dismally low earnings of the majority of Indian labourers. It is a worn-out truth that workers in several industries are generally below the poverty line. Table IV made up of date collected from the main Report of the Labour Investigation Committee, throws a lurid light on their unenviable

economic position. It is of course possible that the so-called extravagance of the Indian labourer accounts, in some measure, for such widespread misery, but then it is equally true that "the worker is part of a social organisation and has perforce to conform to certain social standards even if he is not in a position to do so...In a country like India, custom is not only King but tyrant as well."[2]

The chaotic character of the Indian wage system as revealed in the statistics furnished, amply justifies the statutory decision of the Government of India to adopt a forward policy on the wage front. At least two objectives have spurred the Governmental machinery into action: (1) standardisation of wage rates in comparable occupations, and (2) prevention of sweating.

The desire to prevent sweating from the determination not to allow the employer an unconditional first charge on the total revenue of the undertaking, while standardisation may be expected to eliminate the following evils: (*a*) industrial unrest originating from unequal payments for equal efforts, (*b*) undercutting of wage rates by competing employers, (*c*) increase labour turn over, and (*d*) lack of solidarity among workers belonging to the same category, and the consequential absence of a common ground for negotiations and settlement between labour organisations and employers.

Table V clearly illustrates the vital role played in industrial relations by the remuneration which the industrial worker receives.

The question may of course be raised whether wage regulation through direct state action is likely to produce the most desirable results. Two other regulatory agencies are generallay used:[3] (1) collective bargaining and (2) one-sided regulation by one party.

The most conspicuous application of (2) in this country is the Minimum Wage Schedule introduced by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association in 1934. Owing, however, to the essentially unilateral character of this arrangement, general adoption of this course may be ruled out.

In the case of collective bargaining, however, we cannot be so dogmatic. Collective bargaining has the advantage that no elaborate or costly machinery for wage regulation need be set up and as collective agreements are based on mutual consent of employers and of employees, they may be extended without any great difficulty, to other sectors and units of the same industry. By this method, the wages

2 Labour Investigation Committee Report (Main), p. 293
3 Gadgil, Regulation of Wages, p. 40

of the different categories of workers with varying degrees of skill may be readily fixed. Collective bargaining, however, has its limitations. The most devastating objection to it is that where the workers' unions are weak, it is possible for the employers to take advantage of such weakness. In a country like India where trade unionism is still in its infancy the argument is unanswerable "Collective agreements, moreover, do not afford as sure and permanent a system of regulation as legislative enactment."[4] Then, again, the system may be opposed by trade unions with a view to excluding the non-union members from any share in the fruits of their own struggle.[5]

It does not, however, follow that the introduction of minimum wage legislation in India has necessarily eliminated the scope for collective bargaining in this sphere. The success of the Act depends largely on the measure of agreement which can be reached, between Capital and Labour, for an award condemned by the former and cursed by the latter, is bound to be still-born. Collective agreements may very usefully supplement legislation. Legislation furnishes the basis of the wage system; it is for collective bargaining to build the superstructure of higher rates for different classes of workers.

Whatever be the theoretical ideals which inspired the Government to go in for statutory regulation of wages, the initial selection of employments in the Act does not appear to have been wholly wise. For one thing, the selection has not been made on any clear cut principle, for another, the list is much too ambitious for a start.

The Draft International convention adopted by the 11th ILO Conference in 1928 laid down that wage regulating machinery should be set up in those trades in which "no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise, and wages are exceptionally low." Apparently, this refers to industries which are not only sweated, but in which the workers are also unorganised. It has been argued by some dissenting authorities[6] that the only condition which should be satisfied before minimum wage legislation is introduced, is the absence of labour organisation because otherwise even those industries which ordinarily pay good wages may resort to wage cutting in times of depression. The question, however, does not really arise in a country like India where sweated industries are invariably associated with unorganised labour.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 41
5 Richardson, A study on the Minimum Wage, p. 167.
6 Gadgil, Regulation of Wages, p. 43

Moreover, minimum wage legislation in this country has a lot to do in another field, *viz.* standardisation. A more reasonable course for the Government under these circumstances would have been to select, on the basis of the Labour Investigation Committee's useful Reports, industries in which there is no standardisation and which also pay unduly low wages. In the actual list, there are some notable omissions like silk, sugar, cement aud coal industries, while the selection of certain employments, *e.g.*, public transport could have waited. The flexibility of the Act is a consolation, though it remains to be seen whether the authorities care to extend the operation of the Act before they have handled the industries and trades already selected. Even so progressive a country as Britain made a modest start with only four trades, but these exhibited the worst features of sweating.

In Dr. Ambedkar's Bill, the Provincial Governments were entrusted with the fixation of minimum wages in all employments. Under the present Act, the task of regulation has been placed, in certain cases, on the Central Government, and in others, on the Provincial Government. This is an improvement upon Dr. Ambedkar's Bill but there is still room for criticism. The division of jurisdiction, apparently made out of consideration for the diversity of conditions in different parts of the country, provides no safe guards for the maintenance of interprovincial equilibrium and inevitably reminds one of Newton who, in one of his pre-occupied moments, is reported to have constructed two passages of different dimensions for the entry and exist of two cats of unequal size. We have not even the assurance that a uniform wage *policy* will be followed by the Provincial Governments all over India.

In determining the machinery for wage fixation, the Government of India has not followed the chief countries of the world. There are in general, five types of machinery for such regulation: (1) General application of collective agreements. (2) direct legal enactment, (3) Arbitration Court (4) Central Commission and (5) Trade Boards.

(1) has already been considered at some length. The method of direct legal enactment has, sometimes been adopted in New Zealand and in U.S.A., but can hardly be recommended as suitable for a country like India.

The rigidity of the method is its chief drawback, but there are other objections, too. Until the wages of unskilled workers in different industries have become more standardised, by Trade Boards or Central Commissions, a minimum rate fixed by direct legal enactment would be so low that it would benefit only a small number of

workers in a few of the lowest paid industries. Moreover, a legislative assembly, at the mercy of momentary guests of public opinion, and swayed from time to time by undesirable political influences is hardly suited to the task of examining economic conditions dispassionately and recommending fair wages.

The Arbitration court is adopted where the main object is the settlement of industrial disputes and this method has been used extensively both in New Zealand and in Australia. Judicial awards have been criticised on the ground that judges do not posses the technical knowledge necessary for the task of wage determination.[7] The objection is wholly theoretical and is unwarranted by the actual working of Tribunals in Australia and New Zealand. The institution of a court does not exclude the appointment of advisers; so far as New Zealand is concerned, "the regulation of wages by the court has resulted in the standardisation throughout the country, of the rates fixed in particular trades. It has also protected weakly organised workers and has led to be closer correspondence between the rates paid in difierent industries and occupations. In addition, it has given a measure of protection from the consequences of economic fluctuations by exerting a marked stabilising influence on real wage rates."[8] Even in India Industrial Tribunals are not unknown, and in West Bengal, a Tribunal constituted by members of the Judicial service has actually fixed minimum rates for jute mill workers in recent months. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that whatever may have been the reasons which impelled the India Government not to adopt the method of wage regulation through Arbitration courts, the fact that judges are not industrial experts probably did not weigh with them.

A Central Commission can be of much use where a national minimum is to be fixed or where a Uniform wage policy is to be followed all over the country. Prof. Gadgil's criticism of the system on the ground that the determination of the wage level should rest to a certain extent with the trade itself is based upon a misconception of facts, and the assumption that a central commission is appropriate in a country where conditions are comparatively homogeneous and where a certain amount of regulation has previously existed is equally invalid. As the commission cannot possess any intimate knowledge

[7] "The task involved is not so much of interpreting legal provisions or precedents in case law as of understanding and evaluating business and economic data."

—Gadgil, Regulation of Wages, p. 47

[8] ILO The minimum Wage,—An International Survey, p. 172.

of the special conditions obtaining in each trade, in actual practice it "sets up permanent boards in each industry consisting of representatives of employers and workers, or calls together special conferences of employers and workers."[9] It is these Trade Boards or Trade Conferences that advise the Commission as to the rates to be fixed in each industry.

In actual operation, therefore, there is no appreciable difference between the Trade Board System and the Central Commission.

Trade Boards have worked very successfully in Britain and the fact that this method takes into consideration the varying circumstances of different industries and different regions, is an advantage. To ensure a uniform policy under this system, there must, however, be a central body to co-ordinate the activities of the several Boards.

Judging by the relative merits of the different machinery it appears that India would have profited by the setting up either of Trade Board or of a Central Commission though the successful working of every system depends, in no small measure, on the national genius and the adaptability of the people.

The Indian Act has accepted none of the foregoing machinery. In fixing wages for the first time in an employment, the appropriate authority is permitted to dispense with the help of committees and advisory bodies, but for revising rates already fixed, such advice is indispensable. The significance of the distinction is, not clear. Indications are not forthcoming that the permanent officials of the Government are, under any circumstances, competent to do without expert knowledge. The Government itself seems conscious of the danger of relying too much on bureaucratic wisdom and has provided the proverbial silver lining in the shape of the Central Advisory Board.

It appears from the Act that the representatives of the workers on the various committees are to be chosen from among the employees engaged in that industry. This provision is probably intended on the one hand, to exclude troublesome agitators, and, on the other, to make the workers self-reliant. Self-reliance, however, comes only with education and upliftment. At present there is neither, and hence, to insist on self-reliance is to put the cart before the horse. Moreover, what guarantee is there that workers who present their case ably, will not be victimised?

The Act lays down no principle to be followed by the wage-fixing authorities in their task. In this respect India has followed the prece-

[9] Richardson, A Study on the Minimum Wage, p. 157.

dent set by other countries, such as Britian, Australia and New Zealand. The absence of statutory principles makes for the flexibility, but in the absence of some authority co-ordinating the activities of the Central Government and the different Provincial Governments, it is more than possible that the Gevernments will adopt dissimilar criteria in determining wage rates. Such a policy can only add to the prevailing confusion. Thus in Britain, the Cave Committee while reviewing the work of the Trade Boards commented, "Some Boards have had regard only to the cost of living, while others have taken into account the value of the work done and the charge which the Trade can hear. In one case, we were informed that the minimum was taken to be the lowest wage payable to the least skilled worker in the cheapest living area covered by the rate; while in another it was defined as a wage sufficient to provide a young woman of eighteen with means sufficient to enable a man of twenty one to contemplate marriage. Partly as a consequence of this diversity of interpretation wide differences are found in the rates fixed." The danger is all the greater in a Federal state like India where it is open to the Constituent units not merely to formulate varying principles under the same Act but also to make independent arrangements for wage regulations within their respective territorial jurisdictions. The fixation of minimum wages for Jute Mill workers in West Bengal by the Industrial Tribunal and the Report of the U. P. Labour Enquiry Committee (1946-48) recommending the fixation of minimum wages in U. P. on other principles, lend support to this contention. The setting up of a Central Industrial Tribunal to hear appeals against the awards of provincial tribunals is a wise step, but it is not wise enough. Industrial tribunals are not the only mechinery by which wages may be fixed. In this sphere Central Advisory Board is destined to play a significant role. If some healthy conventions develop by which the Central Advisory Board is left free to formulate the principles to be taken into account, in each case, and if the Governments, like constitutional monarchs, act on the advice of this Board, much undesirable confusion would have been averted.

Although categorical principles have nowhere been stated in the Act, it is imperative that two broad considerations should guide all awards. Firstly, every worker must be paid, what may be called, a living wage. To ensure this a national minimum wage may be determined. Expressed in terms of money, this national minimum need not be the same everywhere, it is the real wage that is of importance. Secondly, the workers should be paid at rates more or less equivalent to the rates offered to workers in comparable occupations.

Prof. Gadgil has looked sceptically at both these propositions. A national minimum, he declares, should be fixed only in new countries like Australia where the standard of living is already high. As for standardisation, he is of opinion that it can be usefully introduced only in those industries where conditions have reached a certain amount of stability. It is, he says, a step that, in regulatory practice follows and does not precede the establishment of minimum levels of wage.

Prof. Gadgil is perhaps unduly conservative. It has already been pointed out that wage regulation in this country is necessary firstly, to prevent sweating, and secondly, to attain standardisation. As a vast mass of workers in this country are below the poverty line, the determination of a living wage would, in itself, be the first milestone on the way to standardisation. If, as Prof. Gadgil suggests, regulation neither guarantees a living wage nor attempts standardisation, it defeats its own purpose. This is not to say that regulatory authorities should introdnce standardisation overnight. Standardisation of occupational nomenclature is the first pre-requisite of standardisation of wage rates, for where wages are sought to be regulated, the living wage ought to be linked to the different occupations by a scientific system of differentials. Standardisation is no easy task because, in practice, there are very fine gradations among operations in modern mass production industry and rigorous occupational lines are limited to a minority."[10] Some rules of thumb must nevertheless be devised and for this task, the so-called job-valuation methods adopted in U.S A. may prove helpful. "These schemes fulfil the important function of providing a definite, well known and relatively impersonal mechanism for settling differentials within rather wide ranges."[11] The classification recommended by the U.P. Labour Enquiry Committee is wholly theoretical and it over-simplifies the problem.

If awards are made on the basis of a living wage, the attainment of standarasation will be a less painful process because of a narrowing of the margin of disparities. Standardisation, moreover, need not seek absolute equality of remuneration in comparable occupations, in the beginning.

The determination of a living wage is a formidable task and Prof. Gadgil is on firmer ground when he speaks of the advantageous position of countries with a high standard of living. Prof. Gadgil himself however, indicates, though unconsciously, the right approach. If our standard of living is lower than that in Australia or in U.S.A., the

10 and 11 Dunlop, wage determination under trade Unions, pp. 214-15,

size of the living wage in the country should also be correspondingly lower.[12]

In calculating this living wage, we must take into consideration not the paying capacity of individual trades or establishments but of the National economy as a whole. The economic condition of individual units or industries is to be considered only in fixing wages above the National Minimum. Some industries or undertakings will, no doubt, suffer, but that is the established world practice. In the words of Mr. Justice Higgins, President of the Australian Common Wealth Arbitration Court in 1909, "It is necessary to keep this living wage a thing sacrosanct, beyond the reach of bargaining".

What should be the size of the living wage in India? To determine this "We shall have to lay down certain norms of food requirements according to physiological research and also standards for other elements of human consumption and welfare, which make up a decent standard of living acceptable for the community. It is on this scientific basis that the living wage standard should be fixed forming the basis of the minimum wage regulation."[13] According to calculations made by Dr. Mookherjee the minimum daily intake of an adult worker in India should be 3000-3750 calories according to occupations. On this basis, the monthly expense on food of an adult worker at pre-war prices is Rs. 3-8-8. Adding to this expenditure on other items, such as rent, clothing, fuel, medicine, light, etc., Dr. Mookherjee arrives at the final figure of Rs. 30 p.m. for a worker's family consisting of four members. The U.P. Labour Enquiry Committee also has recommended the adoption of the living wage standard, and it is interesting to note that by independent calculations, on the basis of a balanced vegetarian diet of 2700 calories per adult, this Committee, too, has reached the monthly figure of Rs. 30 (Pre-war) for a worker's family consisting, besides himself, of his wife and two children or of 1·2 male adults, 1·1 female adults and 1·2 children in case of a joint family.

A word of caution is called for, at this stage. Whatever be the figure accepted by the wage fixing authority, it must not disturb the economy violently. In Australia, the principle of a living wage was

12 "The human needs of labour cannot be interpreted without reference to national income and to customary earnings that are related to the economic wages in the industry. Thus practical considerations in respect of the economic position of the industry costs of productions, output and profits as well as national income per capita inevitably enter into the determination of the normal and reasonable needs of workers by wage-fixing bodies. Even so a living wage standard is explicitly adopted in order to stress the social responsibilities of an industry". R K. Mukherjee. The Indian Working Class, p. 118.

13 The Indian working class, p, 160.

first adopted by the wage fixing tribunals only as a working basis and it became law only when it had acquired the authority of tradition. Moreover, in determining the wages, tribunals were given a wide latitude and it is a tribute to their moderation that the "Authorities have throughout, almost without exception, refused to declare a living wage differing in any marked degree from current rates." [14] In India, too violent jerks may be avoided if undertakings unable to pay the living wage immediately are allowed to reach the standard by stages over a reasonably long period.

We may now consider the probable effects of the operation of minimum wage legislation in India on (*i*) employment, (*ii*) Wages, (*iii*) industrial organisation, (*iv*) trade unionism and (*v*) prices.

(*i*) The question of fixing minimum wages has sometimes been regarded as one of choice between a higher level of wages with a larger volume of unemployment or a lower level of wages with less unemployment. The Keynesian Analysis, on the other hand, suggests no direct connection between money wages and the volume of employment. According to the latter approach, a charge in money wage, apart from reactions on the rate of interest, is not likely to produce any great repercussions on employment. Explorations in the field of Applied Economics are hampered by the fact that the connection between wage increases and unemployment is complicated by other factors and it is impossible to isolate the effects of one factor or the other from the tangle. The following analysis is, therefore, subject to this limitation.

Higher wages in India need not, in the long run, cause unemployment. The Indian Labourers work at such a low level of subsistence that a higher wage by raisising his standard of living and efficiency will, in all probability, more than offset the rife of the employer's cost of production. In fact, Dr. R. K. Das has made the interesting revelation that Indian workers, when they go abroad and enjoy the higher standard of living prevailling there, actually work better than they do at home. Broadly, then, the more ill-paid the worker, the more is he likely to benefit from a higher wage.

There is, however, an inevitable time-lag between the receipt of higher wages and the increase in efficiency. During this interval, the possibility of some unemployment, specially in those industries in which wages form a large fraction of the total cost, cannot be ruled out. Even during this interval, there need not be any unemployment

[14] The minimum wages, An International Survey, p. 39.

in industries which produce goods enjoying an inelastic demand. This is because these industries can shift the burden of higher costs on to the shoulder of consumers through higher prices.

If foreign analogies mean anything, they justify our optimism. In Britain, "the sweated trades to which the original act of 1909 applied, there was no serious dislocation consequent upon the fixing of minimum rates. Only with the beginning of trade depression in 1921 were any substantial complaints received".[15] Other authorities like Sir Hectar Hetherington also confirm that, on the whole, employment has not diminished on account of the working of Trade Boards.

(*ii*) The question of unemployment is invariably bound up with that of industrial organisation. Here also we can draw upon the experience of Great Britain. "A survey of trade effected in 1923 showed that in nearly all cases wage increases had been accompanied by organisational economics to such a degree, indeed, that some employers praised the minimum wage legislation as an incentive to industrial efficiency".[16] The example of Britain naturally encourages the hope that the operation of the Minimum Wage Act in India will also stimulate the industrial organisation. Even submarginal undertakings, which survive only by paying sweated wages may be forced to combine by the pressure of circumstances.

(*iii*) It has generally been the experience of all countries that the fixation of minimum wages is invariably followed by a rise in the workers' earnings. Thus, in Britain "the general consensus of opinion seems to be that the Trade Boards have succeeded in abolishing the grossest forms of unemployment and regularising wage conditions in trades brought under the Act".[17] Similarly in the U.S.A. "Minimum wage orders have not only set a bottom to the wages of the lowest paid workers, but have apparently lifted wages of large numbers of other workers above the minimum" (Mr. Parkins, U.S. Secretary of Labour, 1936).

There is little doubt that low wages, in so far as they are due to exploitation by the employer, will show an upward trend, if minimum wage laws succeed in establishing greater equality of bargaining power between the employer and the employee. This will also be the case if low wages are due either to inefficient productive organisation or to inefficiency of workers. We are less hopeful where the industry is in a state of permanent depression; no reasonable

[15] The minimum wage—an International Survey, p. 138.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

forecast can be made of the influence of comparatively rigid minimum wage rates on the profitability of a hitherto low wage industry.

The minimum rates fixed under the Act may consist of a basic wage plus cost of living allowance based on the cost of living index number or a basic wage plus essential commodities at concession rates, or an all inclusive basic rate. The object apparently is to ensure the worker a fair real wage. In this field, a good deal of work shall have to be done, as no industry in India, except the Ahmedabad Cotton Textile industry, has striven to tackle the problem in the correct manner. In India basic wages remain practically at the pre-war level, and although dearness allowances are paid in all industries, such payments have failed to keep in step with the rise in the cost of living. Moreover even though the Government is, under the Act, authorised to keep the basic wages at their present level and raise only the cost of living allowances, a wiser policy would be to raise the basic wages, as well. Dearness Allowances are of a temporary character, and irrespective of post-war conditions, basic wages in India are extremely low.

There is another aspect of the wage problem. Workers paid on the monthly basis are not affected by Sundays and other holidays, but the daily-rated and piece-rated workers are directly hit by stoppage of work. Hence those who work on a daily rate or a piece-rate basis deserve special consideration at the hands of wage-fixing authorities.[18]

The Act does not allow any discrimination to be made against woman and is, on this question, in direct contrast to Dr. Ambedkar's Bill. It is worth while to remember that a woman's food requirements are 80-90 p. c. of those of men and her dependants are also fewer. In the words of Dr. Mookerjee "The wife or daughter of Indian Worker hardly counts at all in Indian industry." Obviously, economic considerations alone have not weighed with the authorities.

(iv) The Act does not directly encourage either the formation of trade Unions or the practice of collective bargaining. A different machinery, like Trade Boards would have promoted collective bargaining in a greater degree. On the other hand, the selection of employments wherein the Workers are unorganised, may be expected, in the long run, to help the growth of Unions within these trades. It is a wellknown paradox that minimum wage Acts are generally resisted by Trade Unions. The basic opposition is that "sliding

[18] Article by N. K. Bhojwani in "Indian Labour Problems," Edited by A. N. Agarwala.

scales are a substitute for collective bargaining and the Union cannot take credit for wage adjustments that are essentially automatic in character".[19] The obvious course, under these circumstances, is to withdraw an industry from the operation of wage regulation as soon as it has developed labour Union strong enough to take care of its members' interests.

(*v*) The Act has undoubtedly given a twist to the inflationary spiral. The release of large and widely diffused purchasing power at this moment runs counter to the Governments avowed anti-inflationary policy. It is a pity that the Government still persists in its attempt to fit square pegs in round holes.

The inflationary character of the Act could have been softened by the adoption of two safeguards: (*a*) Omission of agricultural workers from the scope of the Act, at least, for the present, and (*b*) Compulsory deposit schemes.

In India industrial workers form a small section of the people. Hence if the Act were confined to these people alone, criticisms on the score of inflation, could have been silenced. The inclusion of agricultural workers is not only inflationary in its consequences, but is unjustifiable on other grounds as well. Available information on agricultural labour is wholly inadequate, and working conditions in agriculture are not amenable to prompt regulation. While agricultural wages are generally lower than industrial wages, the agricultural worker enjoys certain facilities unavailable to others; greater freedom, lower cost of living, free fuel, etc.[20] "What this class needs urgently is not a minimum wage Bill but sound tenancy legislation".[21]

Compulsory deposits besides being anti-inflationary, teach the worker the elements of thrift. The amounts deducted may be utilised for the building of providend funds. Alternatively, the sum may, as in Argentina (under the Legislative Decree of 1945), be used for social purposes beneficial to labour, with this difference that while in Argentina the money is available for immediate expenditure, here it should be held in a suspense account.

The Indian minimum wages Act makes no attempt to grapple with the existing problem of unemployment or irregularity of employment. It does not, therefore, guarantee the worker a secure income over the whole year.

[19] Dunlop, Wage Determination under Trade Unions, p. 67
[20] Main Report of the Labour Investigation Committee, p. 280.
[21] The Eastern Economist, May, 3, '46.

In the U. S. A., certain companies have adopted what are known as annual wage plans. These plans guarantee either employment for a specified minimum period over the whole year or a regular weekly wage throughout the year irrespective of daily or seasonal fluctuations. Variants of these two types are also not uncommon. One modification of the annual wage plan is the wage advance scheme. The wage fixing authorities in India may with profit, adapt this not-too-expensive scheme to Indian conditions. Under this scheme, "the employer advance a loan to his employees in short" weeks for the purpose of bringing their wages up to a specified minimum; the advances are repaid later by deductions from wages earned in weeks of full time work. [22]

Annual wage plans tend not only to regularise employment and production but they are also a direct incentive to improved techniques of production.

In the U. S. A., those companies which guarantee 2,080 hours of work per year to their employees are exempted, under the Fair Labour Standards Act of 1938, from paying overtime rates until employees are required to work more than 12 hours a day or 56 hours a week.

The expedient is no doubt very costly for a poor country like India, but if the plans are adopted with necessary modifications as to the amount of employment guaranteed, the number of workers covered and the amount of guaranteed earnings, they may not prove as difficult as they appear.

The State may indeed do much good work through the recently enacted minimum Wage law, but hopes must not be pitched too high. On the one hand, the Government has been guilty of some unfortunate lapses in framing the Statute. On the other, there are definite limits to the achievements of wage regulation itself. Much again will depend on the working of the wage-fixing machinery and on the enforcement of its decisions.

The operation of the Act is likely to be complicated if profit-sharing schemes are extended to any of the industries brought within its scope. Profit-sharing proposals, by themselves, have caused grave misgivings and their association with wage-fixation may break the camel's back. The apprehensions are natural, resting as they do on

[22] Article entitled "Annual Wage Plans in the U. S. A.", International Labour Review, Jan-Feb, 1946,

the solid foundation of the Jute industry which has not merely to satisfy a recent award, but has also become a guinea pig in the Government's social laboratory. After all, the goose that lays the golden eggs should be preserved.

Artificially determined wage rates cannot only call forth labour services of specified qualities, but they can also play a useful role in the allocation of resources among competing industries and establishments. While, therefore, the Act may oil the wheels of the distributive meachine, it dose not directly step up production. It is well to remember that the prosperity of a nation is not tied to the apron-strings of a sweeping mass of legislation ; it is only through ceaseless, organised and all-out efforts on the two fronts of production and distribution that victory over mass poverty may be achieved.

TABLE I*

Average Annual Earnings in Rupees

Madras						
1939	173	230	180	148	263	104
1940	187	242	155	221	245	121
1941	195	251	179	153	208	163
1943	345	305	242	194	299	180

Bombay						
1939	373	474	281	255	396	264
1940	382	519	324	268	392	231
1941	412	574	287	273	388	297
1943	823	794	546	566	501	413

Bengal						
1939	216	260	333	225	371	184
1940	268	288	404	234	462	170
1941	257	333	318	264	389	192
1943	363	423	339	355	437	304

Bihar						
1939	163	260	603	137	214	285
1940	176	305	610	171	243	108
1941	201	293	632	160	238	211
1943	204	335	664	233	279	232

U. P.						
1939	259	224	144	153	244	147
1940	297	258	177	168	231	167
1941	307	239	183	170	236	147
1943	561	401	357	296	314	241

* Indian Labour Problems, Edited by A. N. Agarwala.

TABLE II†

Average Daily Earnings of Drawing Tenters at Different centres

Centre	Occupation	Sex	Piece Time rate	No. of hours of work per shift.	Average Daily basic rate.	Average Daily net earnings.
Coimbatore (Jan '44)	Drawing Tenter	M	P	10,9	0-8-6	0-15-8
Cawnpore (March, '44)	Do.	Do.	P	10	1-1-8	2-5-4
Delhi	Do.	Do.	P	8	1-6-9	2-11-2

† Main Report of the Labour Investigation Committee.

TABLE III ‡

Wages and Earning in Minor Cotton Textile Centres in Bombay Province in 1945

Occupation	Basic Wage or Earnings P. M. including 1938 Increase.			Average D. A. P.M.			Total.		
	Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.
POONA									
Drawing Tenter	24	9	4	29	10	6	54	3	10
Sider	21	8	4	29	10	6	51	2	10
Grey Winder	13	8	7	29	10	6	43	3	1
Doffers	13	8	7	29	10	6	43	3	1
Slubbing Tenter	24	9	4	29	10	6	54	3	10
BARSI									
Drawing Tenter	16	2	11	13	0	0	29	2	11
Sider	13	6	0	13	0	0	26	6	0
Grey Winder	6	9	8	13	0	0	19	9	8
Doffers	9	0	11	13	0	0	22	0	11
Slubbing Tenter	16	2	11	13	0	0	29	2	11
SURAT									
Drawing Tenter	25	4	8	42	7	9	67	12	5
Sider	22	9	5	42	7	9	65	1	2
Grey Winder	38	6	0	42	7	9	80	13	9
Doffers	23	8	7	42	7	9	56	0	4
Slubbing Tenter	31	5	11	42	7	9	73	13	4

‡ Main Report of the Labour Investigation Committee.

TABLE IV

Indebtedness of Indian Workers

Centre	Percentage of Workers' Families in Debt.	Average Debt per Family in Rs.
Bombay City	63	129
Ahmedabad	57	266'5
Sholapur	84	234
Jogaddal (1941)	90	122
Nagpur	82	139
Madras	90	262'24

TABLE V

Industrial Disputes in India classified according to Cause

Year	Wages	Bonus	Personal	Leave & Hours	Others	Total.
1943	342	55	53	14	252	716
1944	372	50	82	35	118	658*
1945	356	110	145	56	147	820†
1946	604	79	280	130	534	1629‡

* Demands not known in 1 case
† Demands not known in 6 cases
‡ Demands not known in 2 cases

SOME NOTES ON THE EARLY TRADE BETWEEN BENGAL AND BURMA

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An intimate commercial relationship between Bengal and Burma has existed from very early days. This has not only stimulated the business enterprises of both the countries, but also strengthened their cultural bonds. From the study of some of the Jātakas (the Buddhist birth-stories) [1] and from what we get from Ptolemy, the author of the Periplus, Fa-Hien and some other foreign writers we may reasonably conclude that the ancient sea-ports of Bengal maintained an active commercial relationship with the different states of the Far-East including Burma. According to some scholars, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, the ancient Utopia of the Hindu mariners should be sought somewhere in the lower region of the latter country.[2]

A close political connection between Bengal and Arakan (in Burma) was manifested through frequent wars between them from at least the 8th century up to the days of the Anglo-Burmese Wars in the 19th century.[3] An inscription found on the Sitthaung temple at Mrohaung

[1] Mahājanaka Jātaka, No. 5319, VI. Here it has been told, how a fugitive prince of Videha in East-India sailed for Suvaṇṇabhūmi at the age of sixteen to obtain sufficient wealth to reconquer his dead father's kingdom. Mazumdar—Campā, Introduction.

[2] N. R. Ray—Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, Ch. I. Mazumdar—Suvarṇadvīpa, Ch. IV. Epigraphia Birmanica, Vol. III, p. 11. The scholars who like to identify Subarṇabhūmi with Burma chiefly depend upon the Kalyāni inscription (1476 A.D.) and the Po-U-Daung inscription (1774 A.D.). Although these epigraphs prove that certain portion in Lower Burma was designated as "Suvarṇa" or "Suvarṇabhūmi" they cannot be decisive as they belong to the mediaeval periods. The gaps between the age of Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), who mentioned Chryse Chersonesos (Gold-Peninsula), and the inscriptions are of more than thirteen and sixteen hundreds of years. So it may appear very bold to identify Suvarṇabhūmi with Burma on the basis of these late records. On the other hand, the terms "Suvarṇabhūmi" might have signified a greater part of the Trans-Gangetic peninsula including Siam, Indo-China, Malay, etc. There are many places in Siam with names "Suvarṇa" and "Kāñchaṇa," both signifying 'gold.'

[3] Chittagong District Gazetteer, p. 20. Mazumdar—History of Bengal, Vol. I, Ch. IX. J. C. Ghosh—The Chandra Dynasty of Arakan,—Indian Historical Quarterly, VII, pp. 37ff. D. G. E. Hall—Europe and Burma. Scott O'Connor—Mandalay and other cities of the past in Burma, London, 1907.

in Arakan, possibly testifies to the domination of a large portion of the Chindwin and the Irāvatī (Irrawaddy) valleys by a line of powerful kings whose names ended with 'Chandra'.[1] According to J. C. Ghosh the line of the kings beginning from Bālachandra to Ānandachandra ruled in the regions of modern Chittagong Division and Arakan, between C. 747-1100 A.D. The "Chandra" occupation of Arakan also has been proved by numismatic evidence. An intimate connection between the Kings of ancient Paṭṭikerā in East-Bengal and the Buddhist Kings of Pagān in Central Burma in 11th and 12th century A.D. has been disclosed by the Burmese Chronicle Hmannan.[2] There particularly, the story of the Paganese princess Shweinthi's romantic love for a prince of Paṭṭikerā is of special interest. Intimate political relationship between Bengal and Burma involved a brisk trade between the nationals of the two countries from historic days.

The Mediaeval Bengali Literature is very illuminating on this point as the 'Tamil Sangam' Literature is useful for the compilation of the South-Indian Chronicles. Thus, the Bengali "Mangal-Kāvya" literature throws much light upon the commercial relationship between Bengal and Burma in the Mediaeval days, when it was gradually becoming only the reminiscence of a closer tie of a much earlier past.

In one place of the 'Mangal Kāvya' there is a reference to the "Eastern land" (Purba Deś)[3] in connection with the Overseas commerce of merchant Chānd-Sadāgar. A total ignorance of caste and a great freedom of women wearing 'coloured garments' ('bichitra basan'), both of which have been seriously condemned by the writers of the Literature, are suggested to have been prevailing in the region. Probably, Dr. T. C. Dasgupta has rightly pointed out that by the term 'the East' the poet, perhaps, means the Buddhist Burma and the adjoining countries.[4] If he is true in his surmise, we should

[1] Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1925-1926, pp. 146-48. J. C. Ghosh—*Ibid.* Phayre—Coins of Arakan, Numismatia Orientalia, Pl. II. Smith—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Pl. XXXI, No. 9. Mazumdar—*Ibid.* B. C. Sen—Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 375.

[2] It was composed by many poets of mediaeval Bengal like 'Kavikankan' Mukundaram, Nārāyan Dev, Vijaya Gupta, Bamsidās and others. The Literature deals with the introduction of 'Manasā' and 'Chandi' cults in the "world" having a sort of epic character with vivid pictures of early Bengali Society. See, T. C. Dasgupta—Aspects of Bengali Society.

[3] Bijaya Gupta's "Manasā Mangal," edited by Nagendramohan Sen, pp. 194-95.

[4] T. C. Dasgupta—*Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

also include Siam in the " Eastern land " as it is adjoining to Burma and also bounded on the Western side by the Bay of Bengal. The mediaeval Bengali poets must have acquired remarkable information about those territories from the sailors of their own nationality who used to frequent there to export and import merchandise like betel-leaves, cocoanuts, dried fishes, emeralds, pearls, gems and spices.[1]

In another place of the " Mangal-Kāvya," the poets while giving a list of Indian and foreign countries from which merchants used to sail their vessels to Saptagrām, (the mediaeval Bengali port on the Hooghly river) refer to a country called " Bāgan ".[2] In the " Chaṇḍi-Kāvya " of poet Kavi-Kankan it has been mentioned just before " Mālaya," which should be better identified with the Mālaya Peninsula than with Mālābār in the extreme South of India. The present writer likes to identify " Bāgan " with " Pagān " in Central Burma on the bank of the broad Irāvati river. It is very natural that the Bengali merchants in ancient and in the mediaeval days used to sail their boats to the inland port of " Pagān," which was founded by king Pyinbya in C. 847 A.D. and later on ruled by celebrated kings like Anawrotha (C. 1044-1077 A.D.) and Kyanzittha.[3] Being situated on a big river, Pagān was a great port in the past. V. C. Scott O'Connor[4] visualised while describing the Law-Ka-Nanda temple in the country built by king Anawratha that " beneath it there anchored, in the great days of Pagān, the ships of Arākān and Ceylon on their approach to the Royal City." From the testimony of the " Mangal-Kāvya " we are almost sure that there was a direct route between Saptagrām and Pāgan through the Hooghly, the Bay of Bengal and Irāvatī, in the mediaeval days, which was magnificently utilised by the traders, sailors, soldiers, pilgrims and missionaries of Greater India.

[1] See, the " Badal-Bānijya " or the " Barter-trade " of merchant Chāñd. From a Spanish sailor of the early 16th century we learn that during his time there was an extensive trade of vermillion and silk between Bengal, Tenasserim and Malacca. Scott O'Connor—Ibid, p. 405. Curiously enough, a country called " Mānikā " or " Mālikā " is mentioned in the list of countries and ports from which ships regularly sailed to " Saptagrām." Can this " Mānikā " or " Mālikā " be identical with Mālācca in Malaya Peninsula?

[2] The " Chaṇḍi-Kāvya " of poet Kavi-Kankan, pp. 195-202.

[3] It was during his reign that the celebrated Ananda Temple was built in Pagān.

[4] Ibid pp. 281-282.

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY*

Professor Laski has brought out this volume on America. The author is far-famed and the subject is great and stimulating. Ever since the thirteen American colonies of Britain seceded from the Empire and proceeded to evolve a united Commonwealth in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, this country has drawn to itself the attention of the world. Republicanism combined with an experiment of democracy on a large scale made it the centre of hopes to many and an object of curiosity to many more. In the old world republicanism and anarchy were associated together in most thinking minds. In England, *e.g.* the idea of the Commonwealth had been abandoned as an aberration after the short-lived protectorate of Cromwell. In France it had direct affiliation to the regicide and the terror and culminated in the proclamation of Napoleon as Emperor. Rebublicanism was not unnaturally regarded on this account as the antithesis of stability and order in society. There were many in England including the famous Lord Sheffield who entertained the hope that in the erstwhile colonies in America also there would be no variation of this rule. Republican institutions would break down, people would become disgusted with their recently achieved freedom and call back Britain to re-establish her old connection and control. This wishful thinking did not come true. The Americans set their house in order by forging new bonds of unity on federal lines and made increasingly a success of their experiment of republican and democratic institutions. To people suffering in the old world from administrative tyranny, social inequality and economic disability America became an El Dorado. Common men, shackled in Europe either by social traditions or by Governmental regulations, were free in this Commonwealth to work out their destiny as they might think best. Opportunities for them were enormous. The whole continent was theirs to exploit and utilise. Nor were such opportunities neglected and missed. Not only the four million men which the thirteen old states contained in 1789 began to procreate and multiply, but immigrants from Europe came in large batches. From decade to decade they, the local born and immigrants, proceeded together to change the

* H. J. Laski—The American Democracy : A Commentary and Interpretation. George Allen and Union, London. Pp. 785. Price 25s.

face of the country. Wealth was created and a strong prosperous community came into view.

How was this great community governed? What were its political and social ideals? What were the organs of opinion in this community and how did they work? These were among the many questions which thinking men in Europe now put to themselves. Some travelled to America also to get proper answers. Nor were such answers difficult to obtain for trained and discerning minds. The country was open to visitors. Unlike the modern El Dorado, the Soviet Union, it did not impose restrictions upon movements of such visitors. Consequently while in spite of great curiosity few foreign observers have succeeded in penetrating the veil of mystery in the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. has been fortunate in having from period to period great Europeans to describe and interpret its social and governmental organisation. One of them was the famous French publicist and historian, Alexis de Tocqueville. He visited the United States when that country had already attained adolescence and studied at first hand the working of its government and the features of its social organisation. His was a philosophic mind. He pieced together in their proper context the facts he had gathered and arrived at conclusions which had a significance of their own. His observations on *Democracy in America* brought out in two volumes in the thirties of the last century were the first great book written on the American people and their institutions. It is true that three decades earlier when the U.S.A. was still only a new born infant, it was visited by another great French savant, Chateaubriand. He was, however, then a very young man, only romantically inclined. He did not take much interest in the Government and people of the country. His attention was invited only to the great forests of that virgin land. So Tocqueville's was the first great book written on the United States of America and the new civilisation it was developing.

Fortunately, there were other great Europeans to follow in Tocqueville's foot-steps. Fifty years after the publication of his observations, James Bryce undertook to write about *The American Commonwealth*. His book, in two massive volumes, came out in 1887. It was the result of long sustained study of American institutions and bore marks of personal acquaintance with men and things in the U.S.A., which only repeated visits made possible. The biographer of Bryce has described this book as a faithful photograph of governmental and social institutions of America as they existed

and were worked in the eighties of the last century. It gave us an exact picture of things as they stood at that time. It reproduced alike in all their shades the features which were beautiful and features which were ugly. Simply because *The American Commonwealth* reflected so faithfully in its description and analysis the American institutions as they were in 1887, it could not be truly revised in the light of changes which came in these institutions in later decades. Such revision would have involved violent interference with the picture as drawn by the great artist and might have made it hotch-potch and ugly. Bryce no doubt made further enquiries about those American institutions, which had not been dealt with in his famous work, during his long ambassadorship at washington but he described them and drew conclusions from them in his other great book which was brought out on the eve of his death.

The materials for a great book which American institutions happened to supply were practically exhausted by Bryce. But America continued to rouse the curiosity and attract the attention of great writers from Europe even after Bryce was no more. Andre Siegfried, the great French publicist, felt drawn towards this country almost as irresistibly as Tocqueville and Bryce. He was the second French savant to study American life and write about it. His approach was, however, different from his two great predecessors. He studied American people and government from the standpoint of a sociologist and that is why although great books had already been written on the United States of America, his work also does not suffer much by comparison. *America Comes of Age* brought out in the late twenties may also with apology be included in the list of great books. After this publication, however, it was difficult to make America the theme of a great work which would interest later generations. There would always be an opportunity for scholars to make researches on one or another aspect of American government, politics and society and embody the results in scholarly productions. But it will be difficult, if not impossible, to write on such subjects a book which will be cited in the same breath as Tocqueville's or Bryce's. Even the field which was left open after Siegfried's light touch on it—the racial question—has been brought under heavy contribution by Professor Myrdal and his associates.

In view of what has been stated above, it is difficult for admirers and critics of Professor Laski to find an exact place for his latest work— *The American Democracy*. To say that this is an excellent

book giving us knowledge and appreciation of many aspects of American life and activity is no praise for it. It is something more than such a statement may indicate. But is it much more than this? Professor Laski's acquaintance with America has been long and intimate. He served at one time on the staff of a great University of that country and gained in that capacity an inside knowledge of American institutions. Later visits to that country gave him an opportunity of brushing up his knowledge and widening the circle of his friends and acquaintances. He, in fact, knows as much about America as few foreigners may ever aspire to know about that great and complex country. This store of knowledge of American men and things, built up during three decades, has been poured out into the 785 pages which make up this book. It is divided into fourteen chapters. The titles of these chapters would show that they cover most of the subjects which have any bearing on the working of American Democracy.

We have seen above that it is not yet time for another great book to be written on American civilisation. Apart from this handicap, *The American Democracy* also suffers from what appears to be a defective organisation of the materials so assiduously collected. Professor Laski wanted his book to be a *Commentary* and *Interpretation*. In consequence of this plan he has not given us details regarding many of the subjects he has handled. He has confined himself only to his own reflections on their working. He has devoted for instance less than seventy pages to the examination of the Federal Government and less than thirty pages to the working of State and Local Governments. Every body knows that within such short compass it is impossible to do any justice to the topics dealt with. Treatment has necessarily to be haphazard and perfunctory. So far again as the Federal Government is concerned, his views already expressed in previous publications deprive many of his present observations of originality. His reflections on the House of Representatives are besides a repetition of what has already become too familiar. The Chapter on State and Local Institutions appears to be the most disappointing. It seems to be the most prolix and disjointed in the whole book. There appear to be no central themes.

He devotes about five hundred pages to the examination of such topics as American Business Enterprise, American Labour, American Religion, American Education, America's Minority Problems, America's Professions, America's Press, Cinema and Radio

etc. With regard to these topics also the pictures that he draws give us only part view of things. It is true that his object is only to deal with these subjects by way of emphasising their impact upon the working of democracy in America. Even then it seems that he has emphasised one aspect too much while neglecting other aspects altogether. While studying higher education for instance, he takes a good deal of his space in bringing out into relief the evils of the presidential system. He might have told us something at length about the system followed in training students and preparing them for American life. In another connection he expatiates no doubt on the system of legal training in the U. S. A. But he has refused to be drawn to the question of general academic training. While dealing again with the legal profession, he has rightly emphasised the importance of the bar associations in the choice of judges. But he has not given us otherwise much information about the influence exerted by these associations on legislation and administration.

Such gaps, as a reader will easily notice, are of course bound to occur when the author is tackling a subject of so wide a sweep. The different chapters are not monographs on the different topics they deal with. Consequently such gaps by themselves are not too important. The object in pointing to them here is only to show that if the author so desired, he might have been more balanced in the choice of topics for examination, appreciation and interpretation.

Far more important is the general impression which the book as a whole leaves on the mind of a reader. That he will remain curious and interested throughout need not be reiterated. But will he feel that he is reading not only an interesting book about a great country but a great book which future generations will prize as a classic? The answer will without hesitation be 'no'. Possibly even the assertion of the publishers that this is the most important of Professor Laski's books since Grammar of Politics was written will also be challenged. His book on Parliamentary Government will possibly live longer. The subject was not only more familiar to him, but it was of limited scope and he could concentrate his attention instead of diffusing it on too many topics as in the case of the American Democracy. As a result, on Parliamentary Government we have got from him an analysis, an interpretation, a criticism, and a number of stimulating suggestions which we miss in the present work. But although the American Democracy will not be acclaimed as a classic and will never be bracketed with great books already

written on America by European savants, it should be a matter of pride to Americans that they and their institutions have come in anew for examination and interpretation by a distinguished European scholar.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

Round the World

Appointment of Cabinet Members in U.S.A.

Appointments in the United States are made by the President with the approval of the Senate. The part which the Senate plays in according this approval is not a mere formal one. Instances of withholding its consent are not few and far between. In fact they occur too often. A nomination made to a Federal Court for instance is scrutinised rigorously by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Either before the Committee as a whole or before a Sub-Committee of this body the nominated candidate is usually required to appear. He has there to recount his qualifications and state his political views. The Committee or the Sub-Committee may also call in other witnesses to testify in this regard. For years now a statement regarding his political views has become very important. Unless such views are proved correct, the candidate's nomination may not be confirmed. Any leftist opinion he may have expressed at any time during his public career will be cited against him and he must be prepared to clear himself of the charge.

Formerly the President was given a much freer hand in the choice of the members of his Cabinet and except in few instances his nominations to the Cabinet were automatically approved of by the Senate. But of late it seems the Senate has decided to assert its authority even in this field. Recently Dean Acheson was nominated by the President to be his Secretary of State and the nomination was confirmed by the Senate but not before close examination of his political views was made by its Foreign Relations Committee. "It is my view", he had to say while before it, "that Communism as a doctrine is economically fatal to a free society and to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Communism as an aggressive factor in world conquest is fatal to independent Governments and free peoples". Was a public man, nominated in the U. S. A. by its President to be his Foreign Minister, expected to hold other views than what Mr. Acheson was compelled to affirm in course of his examination by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ? Could not this be taken for granted that the nominee of the President who leads one of the historic parties in the country would have at least acceptable political views ? Sometimes Committees which otherwise render excellent service to the country make themselves ridiculous.

How to avoid third class men from running Universities

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of India, pointed out in his Convocation address at the Delhi University that local bodies in India

were in many instances being run at the present time by third class men. He hoped that the same misfortune would not befall the Universities. His hope will be shared by most educationists in the country, although there are factors working against it. Conditions of service in many Universities are becoming less alluring than they had been before. This is indicated by the loss to University work of many men of ability and experience, who have found accommodation in better financed Government institutions. But it is expected that while University finances will improve, University workers will also be guided by greater idealism.

Whither M. Molotov ?

The removal of M. Molotov from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been announced in the usual laconic manner by the Moscow Radio. He, however, continues as one of the Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers. This latter fact throws a smoke-screen upon the significance of his exit from the Foreign Office. If he was removed from the Government outright as Litvinov was on the eve of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, there would have been no doubt in the mind of any people anywhere that he has fallen from grace. But so long as he remains associated with the Government as a Deputy Prime Minister, it becomes difficult to assess the importance of the step which Stalin has taken. M. Molotov has been his right-hand man for years. Before the war Stalin did not believe in taking any office himself. He was satisfied with his position as Secretary to the Communist Party in which capacity he dictated measures to the Government. It was M. Molotov who formally led the Government as Chairman of the Council of Commissars. When, however, Stalin decided to take up an official portfolio in order that his relations with the heads of Governments of the allied countries might be made easier, he naturally became the Chairman and Molotov became his Deputy. The latter also held the Foreign Ministership from which Litvinov had been dismissed. The rigour of Molotov's relegation from the Prime Ministership to the Deputy Prime Ministership was softened by his remaining at the head of the Foreign Ministry. Now he has been removed from that position as well. Common sense tells us that this is a further fall for M. Molotov. But in regard to matters of the Soviet Union it is not wise to take only a common sense view of things. That is why there is so much speculation in different capitals of the world as to the real meaning of Molotov's exit from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It may be pointed out in this connection that changes in the Foreign Office and in its personnel abroad have in the past indicated change in policy. Litvinov's dismissal for instance was an indication that the Soviet Union had decided not to go in for any deal with the Anglo-American countries. It indicated on the other hand that a Pact with the rival and enemy of these countries was being consummated. Then later when Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was violated by

Germany and Russia was attacked by Hitler's forces, the same Litvinov was sent to Washington as Ambassador to smoothen relations with America. The dismissal of Molotov and his replacement by his erstwhile Deputy, M. Vyshinksky, do not, however, seem on the face of it to indicate any change in foreign policy. A man who has acted as Molotov's Deputy for years is not likely to go in for a radical change in the policy of the Department. It should also be remembered that the course of foreign policy in the Soviet Union as in other countries has always been dictated by the Government as a whole, the chief part being taken by Stalin. Foreign Ministers have only been his instruments in giving effect to his policy. No body will say that up to 1939 the foreign policy of the U. S. S. R. was that of M. Litvinov and since then of M. Molotov. But while general policy may be that of Stalin, different Ministers in charge have different tones and some are appropriate at one time and some at another time. M. Molotov may now be regarded as too soft and with Vyshinsky's inauguration the attitude of the Soviet Foreign Office may become more truculent than before.

Social Reform Without Legislative Intervention ?

The Congress President, Dr Sitaramya, has no doubt voiced the opinion of many in emphasising that social reform, though urgent in many aspects, should be brought about through efforts of the leaders of the society outside the legislature. He was referring particularly to the Hindu Code Bill which has been for sometime before the Central Legislative Assembly. But is this opinion really correct ? During British rule this point of view was urged successfully to ward off attacks on existing social evils by the Government. The Government being foreign, it was pointed out that it should maintain a policy of neutrality in all matters connected with social organisation and religious belief. The Government also found it convenient and useful to accede to this desire and allow archaic customs to be perpetuated. It is true that inspite of this neutrality there were social reform measures which were adopted by the legislature. The age of Consent Bill and the Sarda Bill may be cited as instances. Now the foreign Government is no more. The leaders of the society are the leaders of the Government and the Legislature. Distinction between what is social and what is political, what is to be done by the society and what by the legislature could at no time be properly maintained. At the present time the lines have become further blurred still. Rights of women regarding their inheritance of property or regarding the conditions of their marriage are as much of political importance as they are of social significance. It seems impossible as also unwise to try to draw the line in this regard between what is of social character and what is of political import. Nor can a reform in matters like these be brought about by some social organ as distinct from the legislature. For a change in the law of succession or for the

grant of the right of divorce in Hindu marriages, social sanction alone is not enough. Legislative sanction is essential. If it is urged that no change in the existing arrangements in this regard is necessary, that point of view may be understood, thought not agreed to. But to say that changes are necessary but such changes should be brought about outside the legislature is puerile. The legislature is the supreme organ of the sovereign state and is the elect of the people. It represents them not for any particular political purpose but for all purposes. Consequently it is there not merely to raise money and make laws for external and internal defence. It is there also to adopt all measures of economic and social significance. Just as again some persons have urged that the legislature should keep off the sacred ground of society, so an opinion has been expressed from the rostrum of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce that the Government and the legislature are clothed only with political authority and should leave matters of economic organisation to such bodies as Chambers of Commerce. This opinion is as impudent as the demand for leaving the society to itself is untenable.

Arrest of a Russian U. N. Officer

It is reported that a U. N. officer of Soviet nationality has been arrested under the orders of the United States Government on the ground of espionage. This incident raises the question of diplomatic immunity enjoyed by the officers of the United Nations Organisation. We do not know exactly whether such officers are to be treated in this regard in the same manner as diplomatic representatives accredited by one country to another. These diplomatic representatives enjoy certain privileges. These privileges are of course not as clearly defined as they are sometimes thought to be. Whether for instance their apartments may be searched is, it may be said, an open question. There are again instances in history of diplomatic representatives being put under arrest on the ground of the safety of the Government being endangered by their activities. But now-a-days it is the general opinion that if any such representative does anything prejudicial to the interests of the Government to which he is accredited, his recall may at once be demanded. If case the officers of the United Nations Organisation have the same privileges as diplomatic representatives, they also should enjoy immunity from arrest by the agents of the country in which this Organisation is located. But who is to demand his recall if he does anything subversive of the interests of this country ? The Government of that country may not possibly do it because he is not accredited to it. The United Nations Organisation is unlikely to do it because he has not done anything immediately prejudicial to its interests. So a piquant situation is likely to arise in which neither the arrest of the man is possible nor can his recall be demanded. In the present case, of course, the Secretary General of

the United Nations Organisation has suspended the Russian Officer. This may either facilitate the demand for his recall or make his arrest legal. But the procedure is too clumsy. A situation like this might have been avoided, if the U. N. O. had its headquarters in a neutralised country like Switzerland. But the U. S. A. insisted on having it in New York.

The U. S. S. R. and Communist Parties Abroad

It was known to every one before that the first loyalty of the Communist Parties in other countries was to the U. S. S. R. Its interests were first in their mind. They were believed to hold the view that their future was bound up with that of the Soviet Union. Consequently they either allowed their policy to be dictated by Moscow or they of their own accord adjusted their points of view to the changing opinions and policies of the Moscow authorities. This is illustrated most pointedly by the transformation overnight of what was the imperialist war in 1939 into people's war in 1941. Of late this idea of Communist Parties in other countries being a mere instrument of Soviet policy was modified by the belief that the Communist Parties of Yugoslavia and China were following their own lines of policy and that the Soviet Union did not interfere in what they did and what they thought. Actually, however, there was no reason to entertain any such view. Marshal Tito and his Party no doubt carried on their activities only in the light of the welfare of the Yugoslav people and irrespective of the wishes of the Kremlin. But their refusal to toe the line of Moscow has brought upon the devoted head of Tito and his colleagues the curses of the Soviet Government and resulted in the expulsion of Jugoslavia from Cominform. As for the Chinese communisum being diffierent from what is practised in the U. S. S. R, it has been pointed out by minute and experienced observers that such an idea is a myth. The Communist Party, now in power in half of China, will play as much the game of the Kremlin as that in Poland or Bulgaria. In fact in order that the people of the world might not have any doubt as to the possible attitude of the Communist Parties of diffierent countries towards the Soviet Union and its policy, the Cmmunist leaders in France, in Italy, in the U. S. A. and also guardedly in England have now come forward to declare that in the event of war their loyalty will be due not to the Governments and peoples of their own countries but to the Government and people of the Soviet Union. This declaration almost simultaneously made in different countries seems to have a twofold purpose. First, its objective must be to warn their Governments that war must not be declared light-heartedly. In case it came it might divide the people and all efforts to conduct it may be impeded by the Communists. Secondly, the objective must have been to point out to the Communists and to those who are Communist-minded that there must be no hesitation in their mind in the hour of struggle. Their first loyalty was to the Soviet Union

and consequently they must not hesitate to be dubbed as traitors to their own countries.

Informal Commonwealth Conference at New Delhi

On the 28th February last was held an informal Conference at New Delhi. Pandit Nehru presided and those who attended were the representatives of India, Britain, Ceylon, Australia and Malaya. The object evidently was to discuss the affairs of Burma which were fast deteriorating and suggest to the Burmese Government some way out of the present tangle. The origin of the Conference was this. In January last the Government of Burma approached His Majesty's Government at London for financial assistance. The British Government was unwilling to respond to this request without consulting those other members of the Commonwealth who were immediately interested in what was happening in Burma and what had necessitated this approach for financial assistance. Breakdown of law and order in Burma was not merely a source of danger to the people of that country but to all countries interested directly or indirectly in South East Asia. Accordingly the Government of India was approached so that an informal Conference might be called at New Delhi. As formal initiative on the part of Britain in this regard might not have been above suspicion, Pandit Nehru was requested to call the Conference and preside over it. We do not exactly know as to what suggestion was offered by this body to the Government of Burma. It only appears that Thakin Nu's Government was requested to follow a policy of conciliation towards the Karens. Possibly some concrete suggestion in the form of a cut and dried scheme was also submitted in this regard to the Burmese Government. 'It is also not unlikely that the good offices of the Commonwealth countries were offered. Now whatever the suggestion was, Mr Hector MacNeil, the British Minister of State, has pointed out in the House of Commons that the Burmese Goverment has refused to entertain it. Thakin Nu would not have turned down the proposal if it was merely to the effect that he should follow a policy of conciliation towards the Karens. Actually his own policy is one of extreme conciliation towards them. As stated already there must have been some suggestion of mediation on the part of Britain and other Commonwealth countries and it is that which has been turned down by Thakin Nu. The Conference must have been in possession of exact facts regarding the present resources of the Burmese Government and its ability to cope with the ugly situation that has arisen in that country. The sympathy of the Indian people and Government for independent Burma need not be reiterated. It is so well known. In view of this when the Government of India was associated with the proposal of mediation or conciliation, the Burmese authorities need not have taken fright at it. We hope, however, better sense will dawn before it is too late. Meanwhile

the absence of Pakistan from the informal Conference remains to be explained. A spokesman of its Government pointed out that on two grounds it has not allowed itself to be represented there. The first ground was that the Conference was informal. The second ground was that as the Australian representative, Dr. Evatt, would pass through Karachi on way back, from him the Pakistan Foreign Minister would have full details of the Conference. Neither of the grounds is satisfactory. Formal or informal, it was a Conference and it was attended by the representatives of all those Commonwealth countries which were immediately interested in what was happening in Burma. East Bengal was contiguous to Burma as Assam was. So Pakistan's interest was as intimate as that of India. As for the second ground, it appears to be still more puerile. To participate in a Conference is one thing and to hear of its proceedings is another. Why did Pakistan refrain from attending ? We have had no answer to this question.

Attempts to change written Bengali in East Bengal

When the question of choosing an official language for Pakistan arose last year for decision, Urdu was chosen for the purpose in the teeth of opposition in East Bengal. The people in this province argued that as Bengali was the language of the majority of the people of Pakistan, it should be the official language of the state. If that was not possible, Bengali should at least be an alternative official language. None of these suggestions was adopted. It was only conceded that Bengali might remain the official language of East Bengal province. This concession was also suggested with considerable mental reserve. There were two reasons for that. First, it was thought that Urdu was more Islamic in character than Bengali. In script and other particulars Urdu had close affinity to Arabic and Persian languages which Bengali lacked. For Pakistan which was to be an Islamic state Urdu should, therefore, be given preference to Bengali. Secondly, whatever difference there might be between spoken words of West Bengal and those of East Bengal, there was one common written language for two Bengals. Religious diffierences have now resulted in the partition of the province that was Bengal. But in course of time linguistic unity might assert itself and become the basis of a movement for unification. So something must be done by way of destroying this linguistic unity which survived partition.

To this end two suggestions have already been made. First, Arabic script should replace the existing Bengali script. It will kill two brids in one stone. It will create the desired gulf between West Bengal Bengali and East Bengal Bengali and it will at the same time narrow the gulf between Urdu and East Bengal Bengali. The second suggestion is that the written Bengali so far accepted as *standard* Bengali in both West

Bengal and East Bengal districts will have to be changed for East Bengal. It should in the first place conform more closely to the dialects prevailing in East Bengal and secondly it should accommodate more Urdu words than now. A committee has now been constituted with Maulana Akram Khan as Chairman to make recommendations regarding this standard East Bengal Bengali. We need not anticipate the recommendations of this Committee. But as to the implications of a standard East Bengal Bengali which is sought to be created, none need be in doubt. It will widen the gulf between the two parts of Bengal; it may cut off the next generation in East Bengal from access to Bengali literature as it has been developed so far and as it may develop in the future in West Bengal and it will aggravate the helplessness of the Hindu minority in Eastern Pakistan.

Reviews and Notices of Books

John Company at Work—By Holden Furber. (Harvard University Press—$ 6·00).

Prof. Furber worked for twenty years on this subject—the economic and social forces at work in the late 18th century conditioning European expansion in India. Though he confines himself to a decade (1783—1793) —the bulk of the voluminous materials necessitating this limitation—he claims that these were also the forces at work during the period 1757—1818. He has utilized very fully the Dutch, French, British and Danish records of the period and he says in his preface that he is unaffected by any sort of bias as he is not an Asian or a European.

Prof. Furber throws new light on Anglo-French rivalry. He has shown that French naval expeditions sent into the Eastern seas during the five years 1784-'89 strengthened French influence in Cochin China thus marking the earliest beginnings of modern French empire in Asia. We are familiar with the story of French failure in the East. Here we learn something about the preparedness and efficiency of the *ancien regime* in France. 'Vergennes' dreams of power and prestige lay in ruins but foundations were laid of French influence in Indochina.

The Dutch trade in decline in India is here described in full. Prof. Furber's study of the Dutch Company's lists of bills of exchange is very illuminating. He also throws a new light on declining Portuguese trade on the west coast and Danish trade on the east coast. They provided opportunities for British subjects engaged in country trade. He writes (p. 170), "many an English Captain did not hesitate to join the Portuguese and the Danes in supplying Haidar and Tipu with arms. Tranquebar was the centre of an illicit arms traffic." One of Price's "Five letters to Warren Hastings" seems to support this statement. English 'country' tonnage which stood at 4000 in 1780 had reached 25,000 in 1790.

About British trade expanding in the direction of Malaya and China we get some new information. French designs on Cochin China and French schemes for agreement with the Spanish Philippine Company were due to a desire to check British expansion on this side. Asiatic rivals were affected no less than European. Indian 'bombaras' and Arab 'dhows' numbered two hundred on the Cochin shipping list in 1787 but dropped to 160 in 1791. Prof. Furber describes the transition from Warren Hastings to Cornwallis as a shift from unregulated to regulated

imperialism. As the Company's servants ceased their private trading ventures, European agency houses stepped in.

Prof. Furber criticises Digby's statement that the drain of wealth from India averaged £18,000,000 a year between Plassey and Waterloo. He admits that we can never possess full and accurate statistics. He would not think of it solely in terms of Bengal and he bases his conclusion on the invoiced values not the sales values of exports and imports. For the period 1783—'93 he arrives at a total figure of an annual drain towards the west in goods not exceeding £1,800,000. He would not regard this as progressive impoverishment because other nations not under the 'heel' of imperialism underwent such drains.

Prof. Furber may be right. He has taken great pains to study this topic of drain of wealth on the basis of bills of exchange though he admits that the evidence cannot be conclusive. During this period Indian industries had not yet decayed. Only the control over them passed from Indian to English hands. In this respect unregulated imperialism was certainly less injurious to India than the regulated imperialism of Cornwallis and his successors. During the period 1783—'93 the first and the most exultant phase of the gold rush was over (Two-thirds of Hastings diamonds went home before May, 1775) and the full establishment of colonial economy was yet to come. This period was therefore transitional and does not give us a very good idea of the characteristics either of unregulated imperialism or of regulated imperialism. But we must at the same time admit that Prof. Furber has made a remarkable contribution to the economic and social history of British rule in India in the 18th century.

N. K. SINHA

Prathamik Hisab Siksha—(Book-Keeping and Accountancy in Bengali)—By Chinta Haran Banerjee—Published By Messrs. Das Gupta & Co., Calcutta—Price Rs. 7/-

Book-keeping and Accountancy is a highly technical subject and it is really difficult to deal with the subject in Bengali for want of suitable expressions for many technical terms. We are afraid that in accountancy there are many technical terms used in English, Bengali synonyms of which are not fully expressive. Chinta Haran Babu has therefore undertaken a rather difficult job, but it must be said that on the whole his work is praiseworthy and he deserves congratulation. Only by long and common use, a term acquires its technical sense and it will take a number of years for most Bengali phrases in accountancy to gather a technical meaning around them. When we adopt the Bengali medium we must be prepared to face such difficulties and this book will be of great help to our students. All the terms used by the author will not

meet with the approval of accountants and businessmen but most of them are appropriate and carefully selected. The author will do well to remove all terminological inexactitude, when he will publish subsequent editions.

H. MAJUMDAR

Indian Nationalism.—By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Published by Hind Kitabs Limited, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.

In the field of politics and journalism, Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta was well known. He kept close watch on day-to-day events which, entwined into a synthetic whole, created an independent India. These he places in their true perspective in this treatise. He writes on Governments and peoples, how a nation is made, on the trials of Satyagrahis, on the economic aspects of Indian nationalism and on problems of language and these will still repay perusal. He maintains that a democratic government founders when it claims monopoly of wisdom and assumes an attitude of infallibility. His vision of future India was of an awakened nation, eager to move where the light of liberty beckons. He rightly considered that the greatness of the sufferings of our national leaders would be recognised one day by the world and that we are today a free nation is a proof of his prescience.

Mr. Gupta's book is to be re-read with some profit by the students and by the public as well, to have a thorough knowledge of the different processes which Indian national evolution passed through to come to the present goal of independence. The essays in the book will never grow old because these will furnish successive generations with a clear exposition of the history of the evolution of Indian nationalism in its attempt to secure independence.

J. N. MITTRA

Indian Short Stories.—Edited by Mulk Raj Anand & Iqbal Singh, published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. 12s. 6d nett.

The Editors of "Indian Short Stories" declare in their introduction that the book is an attempt to "give a fairly comprehensive idea of the main trends among Indian writers of our time, both those who write in English, and those writing in the various Indian languages." Most of the selections attempt to portrary in Dickensian fashion some of the evils of Indian society. "Our Lane" describes dismal poverty and a rising sense of nationalism; "The Parrot in a Cage" hits at purdah, "A Kashmir Idyll" shows the suffering of people under degenerate princes, "Javni" pathetically describes a victim of caste; "Drought" shows the misery of the peasant's lot.

While the writers display vigour and mastery of a foreign tongue, the stories themselves leave the reader unsatisfied. It is true that the modern Short Story has entered new fields and adopted diverse forms.

Yet the average reader hankers for some sort of plot. The neatness of plot construction, we find in a "Strand" short story, is lacking in many stories of this collection. Some of the narratives are long-drawn and the descriptions pall. "A Kashmir Idyil" is more of an essay than a short story. "Javni" is an enlarged character-sketch. "When one is in it," is a rigmarole. "The Coachman and the new Constitution" on the other hand, shows both humour and a sense of proportion. It is the best story in the collection. On the whole the book represents a tentative effort which should be encouraged.

Y. MATHIAS

India Cavalcade—By Bhabani Bhattacharyya, Ph.D. (Lond.), Nalanda Publications, Bombay, 1948, pp. 261, Price Rs. 6/12/-

The book under review is one of the most entertaining historical publications of recent years. It consists of thirty-seven sketches, each describing vividly a particular episode of Indian history. The sketches are chronologically arranged so as to refresh the mind of even a lay reader as to the development of Indian history from the days of Chandragupta Vikramaditya to the transference of power to Indian hands on the 15th of August, 1947. Many of the sketches have the career of a great personality as their theme, *e. g.*, A Queen's dilemma, An Unmughal Mughal, Babar : Diarist and Emperor, The False Guru, etc. Other sketches *e.g.*, Intellectual Tide over Bengal are concerned with some aspects of social development. Whatever the subject matter is, the sketches are all of them drawn in a clear racy style and maintain an unflagging interest for the reader throughout. Written originally for periodicals, they have not suffered any wear and tear when brought together in this permanent shape. To most people Indian history remains a sealed book only because it is as a rule written either only for school boys or for specialists. Writers of Indian History have a responsibility also to those busy lay readers who may like to know something of the evolution of things in this country in their short leisure hours. Most of them, with a habit of reading, now turn either to popular story books or to entertaining books on travel. Indian Cavalcade will also now evoke their interest and may whet their appetite for historical fare. But such fare must not be forbidding and to that end should be as attractively dressed and served as this volume. We congratulate the author and hope he will take up other themes and publish a second series.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

Ourselves

The Late Kiron Sankar Roy

An important personality has been removed from the public life of Bengal by the death of Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy. He began his life as a professor of History in a Government College at Calcutta. After a few years, however, he gave up this calling to join the Bar. But here also he could not stick. The Indian National Congress which had then been galvanised into new activity by Mahatma Gandhi claimed his services and for the remaining quarter of a century of his life he was in the thick of the political struggle of his country. Even in the rough and tumble of political work, however, he maintained his interest not only in general culture but in higher education. For a few years he actually became associated with the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts as a Lecturer in the Department of History. But demands on his time and attention from the field of politics were more pressing and he had to remain a whole-time in Congress work. During the last few months of his life, he was a Minister of the Government of Bengal and died in harness. We offer our condolence to the bereaved members of his family.

* * * *

Late Manmatha Nath Roy

The University has suffered another great loss by the death of Mr. Manmatha Nath Roy. Son of Mahendra Nath Roy, who was a distinguished figure for several decades in the fields of law and education and was a member of the Senate and Syndicate of this University, he was also an alumnus of great reputation of this institution. A Premchand Roychand Student, he became early associated with University teaching and administration. A Professor of the Law College, a member of the Senate for over three decades and a member of the Syndicate for a number of years, he played a prominent part in the life of the University. His death removes a familiar figure from the realm of education. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family.

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Annual Convocation

The annual Convocation was held on the 19th March last. It was, as in previous years, presided over by His Excellency the Chancellor. During the previous twelve years it had become a custom with the University to invite some distinguished personage to act as a Public Orator on the occasion of the Convocation. In this capacity such great sons of mother India as Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrisnan, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had addressed the Convocation. This year also the University desired to keep up the tradition and invite some one to address the Convocation. Actually the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the choice of the University. But she fell ill and then died much to the regret of millions of her countrymen whom she had served so devotedly for several decades. The University then successively approached Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Both of them had to refuse the invitation, one for pre-occupation and the other for indifferent health. So this year the Convocation was addressed only by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. Their addresses will be published in this Review in full in the May issue.

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The Vice-Chancellor in his address pointed out that during the past year four candidates were admitted to the degree of D. Litt. and six to that of D.Sc., and one was admitted to the degree of M.S. The total number of affiliated Colleges is to day 87 and the number of candidates appearing at different examinations which at one time reached six figures came down in 1948 to sixty-two thousand because of the partition of the province in the previous year.

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Regarding the proposed Secondary Education Board, the Vice-Chancellor observed that it should have definite objectives. The purpose should not be "concentration of authority in the hands of the Government." "Secondly, the Secondary Board must be properly organised so as to be a reservoir of men with actual teaching experience in schools and colleges, autonomous in its functions, enjoying the maximum possible academic independence.....Thirdly, the Secondary Education Board must have adequate financial guarantees from the State.....Fourthly, this University should be in a position to maintain the inherent right of every University in the world to regulate its admission test, and if legislation invests the

Board with the power of conducting and regulating a School Leaving Examination, this University must have adequate statutory financial guarantee against the loss of its revenues."

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Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan

The 29th death anniversary of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan will be observed on the 25th of this month. Born in 1870, he died in the prime of life in 1920. But the manysided contributions which he made to the growth of oriental learning during the short span of life allotted to him have earned for him an honourable and lasting place in the world of scholarship. He came of one of the oldest Brahmin families of Nabadwip which was for many centuries the metropolis of culture and scholarship in Eastern India. Passing the M.A. examination in 1893 as a student of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, he was appointed a Professor of Sanskrit in the Krishnagar College. The choice of the vocation of a teacher and scholar was quite in keeping with the traditions of his family many members of which had before his time achieved great reputation as Pandits. Entering upon his profession, young Vidyabhusan did not live the usual life of a professor of a government college. His was a strenuous life spent both in the steady acquisition of knowledge and in the extension of its bounds. He may be said to be one of the pioneers in the field of original research in this country. One of his works, it may be stated incidentally earned for him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the very year in which it was for the first time created by this University. From then on papers were steadily contributed by him on diverse subjects to different learned journals. The continuous flow of articles and papers from his pen was only interrupted by his first illness in 1919, the repetition of which in the following year proved fatal. We are glad that Dr. Kalidas Nag of this University has prepared a sketch of the career of this great teacher and scholar. We shall publish it serially in the May and subsequent numbers.

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The Vice-Chancellor to go to Canada

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, M A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, will proceed to Canada in June next to attend the Commonwealth Universities Conference at Halifax. He will be away for about three weeks.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification

It is notified for general information that under section 22 read with sub-section (3) of section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Hooghly Mohsin College, Hooghly, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

2. As no arrangements for opening Biology classes in the College could be made, the affiliation is sanctioned from 1948-49. It is hoped that the University will have no objection to this.

By order of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate.

Senate House:
The 7th Feb., 1949.

SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Higher Studies in English regarding changes in English book list for the M.A. Examination, 1949.

"2 (b). That the following changes be made in the list of books prescribed for the M.A. Examination in English, 1949:—

GROUP B.

Paper V—Wyatt's Anglo-Saxon Reader to be omitted.
Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader—Nos. VI, VII, XIII, XV to be added.

Paper VI—(a) Morris: Specimens of early English, Part I
Morris & Skeat: Specimens of Early English, Part II } to be omitted.

Sweet: First Middle English Primer—to be added.

(b) Sisam—Fourteenth-Century Verse and Prose (Omitting II, IV(b), IV(c) & XVI)
Every man and other plays (E.M.L.)—to be added.

GROUP A.

Paper VIII:—

Alternative Half:—Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer—to be omitted. Sweet's First Steps in Anglo-Saxon—to be added."

Asutosh Building,
The 13th Jan., 1949.

S. N. MITRA,
Secretary.

ENGLISH

M.A. EXAMINATION, 1949

PAPER II

(b) Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the 17th Century ed. Grierson (O.U.P.) The following poems (34 only in number) are prescribed:—

John Donne	—	The good-morrow Song : Goe, and catche a falling starre Song : Sweetest love, I do not goe A valediction of weeping The Message The Extasie The Funerall The Relique This is my playes last scene..... Death, be not proud A Hymn to God the Father
Sir John Suckling	—	Out upon it.....
Andrew Marvell	—	On a Drop of Dew The Garden
Richard Lovelace	—	To Althea, fum Presin To Lucasta, going beyond the sea
Fancis Quaries	—	Even like two little bank-dividing brookes
G. Herbert	—	Gasten Wings Vartue The Collar Life
Thomas Carew	—	To my inconstant Mistris An Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr. John Donne
Abrahamlowley	—	On the Death of Mr. Crashaw The change
Richard Crashaw	—	Loves Horoscope Wishes. To his (supposed) Mistresse Saint Mary Magdatene Hymn to Saint Teresa
Vaughan	—	The Retreate Man The dwelling place The Night Quikness

34 Poems.

Notification

Extract from the Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, dated the 18th December, 1948, in connection with the M.A. Examination in English under the new and old syllabus for 1949.

"63. * * * *

Resolved—That a special M.A. Examination under the old syllabus be held along with the M.A. Examination in English under the new syllabus in 1949 and that such candidates as were eligible to sit for the M.A. Examination in English under the old syllabus in 1948 be given the option to appear at the special M.A. Examination in English in 1949."

Asutosh Building,
The 7th March, 1949.

S. N. MITRA,
Secretary.

Notification No. 2503 P.G.A.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, dated the 10th March, 1949, in connection with the M.A. text books for the M.A. Examination in Hindi Subsidiary, 1950, in Paper VII.

Resolved.—That the following books prescribed for the M.A. Examination in Hindi Subsidiary, 1951 be prescribed for the M.A. Examination, 1950, in Paper VII as alternative to Hindi Prose and Poetry Selections.

1. Kavya Kalanidhi—same pieces as published for 1951.
2. Nibandha Kusumakar—whole "

S. N. MITRA
Secretary.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Department of Agriculture Senate House, the 10th Feby., 1949.

Many of our friends have felt that a time has come when those of us who take interest in the agricultural development of our province, either officially or non-officially, should have opportunities of coming in personal contact between ourselves so that we could freely discuss matters of practical and scientific interest with a view to co-operation and united action.

With a view to provide for such opportunities it has been decided to start an agricultural society. One of the important items of work on the practical side it visualises is how to organise ways and means of establishing educated men with scientific trainting in agriculture into farming spread over the country in order that their enterprises may bear beneficial influence upon agriculture and rural reconstruction. Besides it will work for the promotion of popular interest, education and research in agriculture by establishing a central Agricultural Museum in Calcutta the capital city of the province with branches in the districts, by initiating and fostering agricultural institutions and by holding periodical meetings of experts, of farmer and general public, by organising exhibitions and by publication of appropriate literature.

The first meeting of the society will be held on Wednesday, the 2nd March, 1949, at 4.30 P.M., at the Darbhanga Hall (Library Room) of the Calcutta University, Senate House, Calcutta. Your co-operation by your presence is requested.

At this meeting (i) views of members present as regards lines on which the society should begin its activities will be received; (ii) a sub-committee will be formed for drafting rules and constitution of the society and (iii) a date and arrangements for a formal inauguration meeting of the society will be decided upon.

P. K. SEN,
Khaira Professor of Agriculture,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

P. N. BANERJEE, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, FELLOW GRADUATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The convention of nearly a century accords to me the privilege of addressing you now. My first words are words of the most cordial and sincere welcome to you, Sir, the Chancellor of this great University. Your scholarship, your devotion to duty, your patriotism have all been harnessed to the cause of education in this province. In recent years, the University inaugurated a system of having a Public Orator for the Convocation. The addresses delivered by our Public Orators during the last twelve years have been sources of inspiration to all of us. This year our first invitee Mrs. Sarojini Naidu could not come. Her silvery voice has been hushed into eternal silence. She was a daughter of Bengal, one of our first Kamala Lecturers. The next two invitees—the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of India, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad were unable to come—the first due to his numerous preoccupations and the second for reasons of health. Both of them belong to Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad passed all his examinations, beginning from the Entrance Examination to the Master's degree examinations in Arts and Law, from this University. He was for some time a Professor of the University Law College, Calcutta.

May I now offer our congratulations to His Excellency Sri Chakravorti Rajagopalacharia, our first Indian Chancellor and the first Indian Governor-General ? During my absence, on public duty, from this country in the Middle East, at a Special Convocation the Senate conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Law. I deplored my absence deeply. I had no option in the

matter. I had to go out of India on a personal request from him.

We offer our felicitations to two of our distinguished sons, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bijankumar Mukherji and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee. One has been elevated to the bench of the Federal Court, the other to the bench of the High Court of Calcutta. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bijankumar Mukherji was a distinguished student of this University. He served the University Law College as a Professor for nearly twenty years of his life. He adorned the bench of the Calcutta High Court for more than twelve years. He is yet one of our Ordinary Fellows. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee has faithfully and devotedly served his *Alma Mater* for more than a quarter of a century continuously in diverse capacities: as an Ordinary Fellow, a member of the Board of Accounts, a member of the Syndicate, as Vice-President of the University Finance Committee, as Chairman and a member of various Boards of Studies in the University. He was a lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Higher Studies in English Language and Literature for more than fifteen years. He was also a professor in the University Law College for about the same period. Of those devoted sons of this University who have rendered conspicuous and signal service to our *Alma Mater*, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee is one. He is the bearer of the great name of the great architect of the University of Calcutta. He has inherited the renown, the greatness and the genius of his great father. We offer our congratulations also to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sudhiranjan Das, puisne judge, Calcutta High Court, on his appointment as Chief Justice of the newly created East Punjab High Court. He was in early years of his professional career, a professor in the University Law College, Calcutta.

On your behalf and on my behalf I offer our congratulations to Professor P. M. S. Blackett, Fellow, Royal Society. He was our Bidhubhushan Ray Lecturer for the year 1947. To him was allotted

the Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari Gold Medal for the year 1948. That gold medal goes to the greatest scientist of the year. Professor Blackett has now won the coveted Nobel Prize in Science. He divided the atom.

It is customary on this auspicious occasion to remember with pride and gratitude our colleagues and fellow workers who have gone to a world from which there is no return. In Mr. Debiprasad Khaitan we have lost the services of a great lawyer who devoted the major part of his life to commerce, industry and this University. He was one of our Ordinary Fellows and was a distinguished member of the Faculty of Law. It was due, in the main, to his efforts that Commerce studies in this University have advanced. The newly constituted Board of Studies in Commerce was the result of his untiring zeal. In Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh this University and the country have lost the services of a great teacher and an administrator. Nearly sixty years ago he started life as a professor in the Uttarpara College. He served the Scottish Church College faithfully and well for long years. He was elected a Fellow, under the Universities Act of 1904, from the constituency of Registered Graduates, in 1908. He served the University in various capacities—as an Ordinary Fellow, as a member of the Syndicate, as Inspector of Colleges and as Registrar for more than thirty years. He died full of years and full of honours. In Sir Zahidur Rahim Zahid Suhrawardy we have lost a scholar of distinction, a lawyer and a jurist of eminence and one of those rare personalities affectionately termed 'nature's gentleman'. He was a member of the Senate from 1917 to 1927 and from 1930 to 1945. The breach in the continuity of his services was due to unfortunate circumstances over which he had no control. He was the Dean of the Faculty of Arts for a considerable length of time. He was also a Dean of the Faculty of Law. He served the country with devotion as one of the puisne judges of the Calcutta High Court for more than fifteen years. In Dr. Ramendranath Ghosh we have lost by death, one of those quiet scholars who live

for the sake of learning. He was connected with the Calcutta Medical College as a surgeon and served the University as a member of the Senate from 1946. He died young. In Professor Benimadhab Barua we have not only lost the services of the University Professor of Pali, but we have lost a scholar of international repute whose interpretation of Buddhism and whose studies and investigations in the domain of oriental learning, specially in the branches of art, architecture, archaeology and pre-Buddhistic Indian philosophy, and Pali literature in general, cast a glorious halo over the University. He was connected with the departments of Post-graduate Studies in Pali, Sanskrit and History since its inception in 1917. In Professor Praphullachandra Ghosh I have lost my master. He was a professor of English, Presidency College and lecturer in the Post-graduate Department of Studies in English Language and Literature for more than thirty-five years of his life. For some time he was an Ordinary Member of the Senate of this University. He placed at the disposal of the Board of Studies in English and other Boards of Studies in this University, his wide experience, his mature judgment, his incisive scholarship. He made an endowment of Rs. 30,000 for translating a series of classical books in Sanskrit, Pali etc. into Bengali, called after his illustrious father, Ishanchandra Ghosh, who was one of our most distinguished head masters. Professor Ghosh did more for his *Alma Mater*. At his desire his entire library worth about Rs. 50,000 was made over to the University by his wife after his death. In Pandit Asoknath Bhattacharyya Sastri, this University and the country have lost the services of a brilliant Sanskrit scholar. He was an example of perfect manners which belonged to century-old tradition of our country. He was a lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Sanskrit for nearly twelve years. The empire of learning in Sanskrit in this country and this University looked for great achievements from him. He died young and our hopes have gone with him. In Mr. Saratlal Biswas this University has lost a great teacher in the Post-Graduate

Department of Geology. His is a loss which it is difficult to assess. In Mr. Manmathanath Ray we have lost one of the most devoted sons of this University and of this province. He was a professor of the University Law College for more than thirty years of his life. He was a member of the Senate for thirty-three long years. He rendered devoted services to the Syndicate and to various University bodies. His great father, Mahendranath Ray, was the first elected Fellow of this University. The father and the son rendered signal services to this University for a period of more than sixty years.

We mourn here today, the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, our Tagore Law Professor for 1924. He was one of our Public Orators who addressed the Convocation in 1941. Universities in India have lost in him, a philosopher and a friend, the country a devoted and a loyal son. We mourn here today the death of Mr. Kiransankar Roy who was appointed a lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of History. Mr. Roy's services to politics will be counted and recounted by his numerous countrymen and countrywomen in years to come.

Members of the Covocation, will you rise in your seats and pray in silence for two minutes for the departed great?

Exactly a year ago, when I had the privilege of addressing the Convocation, I entertained fond hopes that normalcy would soon return and that passions would die and orgies of violence and vulgarity would no longer blacken our beloved soil. My fond hopes have not yet come true. We live in a world today under the shadow of panic. The atom bomb frightens us to the core of our hearts. The sword of Damocles still hangs overhead. The dream of one-world is almost melting away. Indeed, the world appears to be surrounded by an atmosphere of violence, jealousy and dread. Force seems to be the solvent still of the ills from which humanity has suffered in aeons untold. We have borne the shock of two world wars. We tremble at the thought of the advent of a third world war. Lack of adequate

supplies and mounting prices of food, clothes and other necessaries of life have added to the sense of frustration and disappointment of the common man. Uncertainty in life seems to have increased. In an atmosphere surcharged with electrical possibilities we live and move. Refugee students and their parents from across our borders still pour in. They come to us hopeless, homeless and cheerless—uprooted from their soil. The complex problems of modern society have become more complex. Yet those amongst us who have faith and who believe in the resurrection of the human soul have to build plans for construction out of destruction. The chaos in the world today must be converted into cosmos.

Two great events in the domain of education, and in the life of the nation, stand pre-eminent in their peculiar relations to this University. The Government of India have appointed a Universities Commission, consisting of distinguished educationists from India and abroad for the purpose of replanning, refashioning, reconstructing our system of University education. They visited this University and had conferences with the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate, principals of colleges, professors and teachers in representative organisations and institutions. We await with deep interest their findings and recommendations. This University faces this time the fourth Commission, in the course of its century-old chequered life. In 1882, the Hunter Commission made its recommendations. The Chairman of the Commission became one of our Vice-Chancellors. Its labours, at any rate, gave birth to the great architect of the University of Calcutta. The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad terms it as the 'first University in modern India'. The second Universities Commission of 1902, appointed by Lord Curzon, made recommendations which constituted the basis for the passing of the Universities Act of 1904. It was an Act both of a progressive and of a retrograde character. It visualized the creation of a teaching University. We are still living under this Act. Custom and convention, time and distance, the progress of ideas, the adoption of a

democratic way of life, all have made inroads on the statute book. The third Commission appointed by the Government of Lord Chelmsford, made a close survey of all centres of learning and culture throughout the length and breadth of India. It was presided over by that eminent liberal scholar, Sir Michael Sadler. Its recommendations have led to the separation of the jurisdiction between Secondary education and University education in most parts of India. They have stimulated advanced study and research. Organisations controlling education in the various Universities in India, have retained their academic and democratic character. In the case of Calcutta, the fourteen volumes of the Sadler Commission Report lie forgotten like the fourteen points of President Woodrow Wilson. We look forward to momentous changes in the system of education in India when the recommendations of the fourth Universities Commission are executed by our Governments at the centre and in the provinces. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of this Commission, is a very familiar and beloved figure with us. This University made him what he is today. He was connected with us in diverse capacities for more than twenty years of his crowded scholarly life.

In my first Convocation address delivered to you after the attainment of independence by India in 1947, I traced the century-old story of the birth, the growth and the development of this University. May I crave your indulgence to give you a picture of the University of Calcutta, my University and your University, today? We stand on the threshold of great changes. Could I say a few words about its achievements, its aspirations and its failures? I, for one, am not ashamed of failures. Failures spur us on to fresher, greater, nobler activities. I am fond of giving two historical illustrations. If Jesus Christ has lived through death these twenty centuries, it is because His followers failed Him in the deserts of Syria. If Napoleon had not lived like a caged lion for two thousand days and more in the rocky island of St. Helena, history would not have

given the foremost place to him as a soldier, administrator and as a man of action.

The activities of the University of Calcutta centre round direct supervision over advanced studies and research in Calcutta. Secondly, it exercises jurisdiction over its colleges and high schools, till today, through affiliation and periodical inspection. Thirdly, it exercises control over both, through its examinations. It is not perhaps realised that we are the biggest teaching and research institute in India today. In the department of Arts, we teach eighteen subjects up to the Master's degree, with their various groups and sub-groups and other ramifications. They are: (1) Sanskrit, (2) English, (3) Modern Indian Languages (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu), (4) French, (5) Pali, (6) Arabic, (7) Persian, (8) Comparative Philology, (9) Mental and Moral Philosophy, (10) History, (11) Ancient Indian History and Culture, (12) Islamic History and Culture, (13) Economics, (14) Commerce, (15) Political Science, (16) Pure Mathematics, (17) Anthropology and (18) Psychology. In the department of Science we have arrangements for study and research up to the Master's degree, in twelve different subjects, *viz.*, (1) Applied Mathematics, (2) Physics, (3) Applied Physics, (4) Chemistry, (5) Applied Chemistry, (6) Botany, (7) Physiology, (8) Geology, (9) Zoology, (10) Geography, (11) Statistics and (12) Radio-Physics and Electronics.

The number of students reading today, in the department of Arts in the fifth-year and the sixth-year classes, is 1484. The number of post-graduate Research Scholars and Research Fellows in 1948-49 in the same department is 20. The number of students in the post-graduate department in Science in the various subjects, is 476. The number of Research Scholars and Research Fellows is 40. We maintain out of our fee fund, our revenues from private endowments and from subventions from the Government of India as also the Government of West Bengal, nineteen University Professorships in the department of Arts, twelve such Professorships in the department of Science. They

are assisted by a staff of 172 other teachers in the department of Arts, and 118 teachers in the department of Science. Two of our University professors are Fellows of the Royal Society of England. Most of our professors have earned world reputation. This University has indeed been a nursery for technical and scientific staff as also of the judges of the Superior Courts of Record in India. From the post-graduate department of Science alone we have lent the services of eighteen Professors and Lecturers to the various departments of Government. From the department of Arts, similarly, we have lent the services of at least ten teachers. Most of the judges of the Calcutta High Court, I need hardly tell you, had been professors of the University Law College, Calcutta. Last year I regretted the competition between this University and the Governments at the centre and in the provinces in regard to the recruitments of technical and technological staff. I deplored our inability to pay competitive salaries to the members of our staff who have been taken away from us. I have now reconciled myself to the position that this University is, after all, the great recruiting ground for national services in the State, and we shall in the future, as we have done in the past, train up young men for purposes of not only advanced study and research in the Universities, but also technical and technological services to a modern State.

We have decided to advance the bounds of advanced study and research in medical science in Calcutta. In the next session we will see the advent of a third department of post-graduate studies, *viz.*, Post-Graduate Studies in Medicine. I make the statement with the full concurrence of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, the Premier of this province, that certain hospitals in Calcutta like the Presidency General Hospital or the Sambhu Nath Pundit Hospital to which students are not now attached, will be utilised by the Post-Graduate Council of Studies in Medicine of this University. Committees have been set up for the purpose of conferment of the status of University

teachers upon our college teachers and other eminent scholars.

The Post-Graduate departments of Arts and Science were established in 1917. During the course of the last thirty-three years this University has had the proud privilege of presenting to the world five hundred volumes of original contributions, apart from isolated contributions which the teachers of this University have made to the learned journals throughout the world. We instituted an intermediate Research Degree of D.Phil. during the tenure of my office. The University proposes to allow medical graduate researchers also to proceed to the same degree. The number of candidates in different subjects who have registered themselves for the D.Phil. degree this year alone, has been 115 in the department of Arts and 92 in the department of Science. The number of students who have submitted themselves for the Doctorate degrees is 17—six in the department of Arts and eleven in the department of Science. The number of students who have been admitted to the degrees of D.Litt. and D.Sc. is two in Arts and five in Science. In the department of Medicine we have instituted two post-graduate diplomas, *viz.*, the Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery, and the Diploma in Obstetrics and Gynæcology, for which examinations have been held this year. For the first time in the history of this University an examination in the Master's degree of Engineering (Public Health) is being held. Last year four students were admitted to the highest degree of the University in humanities, *viz.*, D.Litt. Six students were admitted to the parallel degree of D.Sc. in the department of Science. We had one student who passed the very difficult examination of Master of Surgery. I said last year that Engineering regulations of this University had been thoroughly overhauled during my first term of office. The Government of West Bengal has granted additional funds to the Civil Engineering College in Calcutta, one of our affiliated colleges, for further expansion. This college, we must not forget, had little chance

of development. It has served the needs of at least three provinces, *viz.*, Bengal, Assam and Orissa. I am hoping that post-graduate courses of study and research in the Faculty of Engineering, will soon come into existence. A criticism is often levelled against this University about the universality of its undertakings by custodians of public finance. They do not take cognisance of our great achievements.

Apart from direct control and supervision which this University exercises over advanced post-graduate study and research we have undertaken direct instruction in regard to a number of Diploma courses, *viz.*, (1) the Diploma in Fine Arts, (2) the Diploma in Librarianship, (3) the Diploma in Spoken English, (4) the Diploma in Social Welfare Course, (5) the Diploma in Domestic Science for women teacher students, (6) the Diploma in Soap Technology. The University College of Science is, with our concurrence, now regarded by the Government of India as an All-India Institute of Scientific study and research.

The Institute of Jute Technology about which I addressed you at the last Convocation, will, I hope, start functioning from the next year. The construction work of the Institute building, hampered occasionally due to difficulties in the matter of obtaining materials, has been making steady progress and I hope the building will be completed in course of the next six months.

The All-India Institute of Social Welfare for which the Government of India have promised financial subvention, will provide facilities for advanced training to our Labour Welfare Officers. It will also provide instruction for those whose services will be requisitioned by the State as hospital almoners and other officers. It is a matter of genuine pleasure to me that the department has now captured the imagination of the general public. In this, may I claim, on behalf of this University that ours is the first Indian University to introduce the course of study which has been recognised by both Industry and Governments? A formal request has been made to us by the Government of Pakistan for

reserving a number of seats in the Social Welfare Course for the training of their Labour Welfare Officers.

This University maintains two of the most well-equipped and up-to-date libraries in India. The Central Library has more than two hundred thousand volumes of books in it and the University Law College Library takes a legitimate pride in its spacious hall and in its one hundred thousand volumes of legal work. Apart from these libraries, we maintain three museums, (1) the Asutosh Museum, (2) the Commercial Museum and (3) the Anthropological Museum for the benefit of our young post-graduate scholars.

Last year at the Convocation, I had the privilege of stressing the importance of three different departments of studies: the first was Agriculture, the second was Architecture and the third one was Music. This University framed its regulations for the I.Sc. examination in Agriculture more than a year ago. They were sent up to the Government of West Bengal for sanction. They still await that sanction. In the mean time, private enterprise has come to the assistance of this University. One of my pupils, Raja Narasingha Malla Deb of Jhargram, has offered to donate the sum of one lac of rupees in cash, and has also offered us the use of hundred acres of land for the purpose of establishing an Agricultural College at Jhargram in Midnapore. The University has accepted the generous offer. The college requires for proper functioning a capital expenditure of three lacs and fifty thousand rupees and an annual recurring expenditure of fifty thousand rupees. This college, when established, will be the first of its kind in this province. Under the terms of two generous endowments made by Raja Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira and Professor Nilratan Dhar, this University will have to maintain two Professorships in the department of Agriculture. Their services will necessarily be utilised for Agricultural education in this country. We propose immediately to add a new subject to our Master's degree, namely, the Master's degree in Agriculture. For this purpose, the Government of West Bengal has generously

offered to the University one hundred and fifty acres of land at Haringhatta—about thirty-six miles from Calcutta. The proposed school of Agriculture along with the proposed River Research Institute to be established by the Government at the same place, as also poultry and the husbandry farm of the Government there, will, I hope, in future, be well integrated.

The scheme for the establishment of the School of Architecture has not yet materialised. Difference of opinion seems to have arisen with regard to the scope and object of the study of Architecture in the Faculty of Engineering and in the Faculty of Arts. The regulations framed by the University and sanctioned by Government for both the purposes do not overlap. The scope and object of each are different.

I shall now give you a picture of education in our affiliated colleges and in our affiliated schools. Our province has, since World War II, been suffering from the pangs of hunger. The hunger for education amongst our people is as great as the hunger for food. One has been assuaged by a compulsory system of Rationing. Will the other remain contented by the slogan for efficiency? One must not forget that our State has deliberately determined upon two courses of state policy: one is that the Indian Union will be a secular state and the other is that the Indian Union will insist on a democratic way of life. Our Constituent Assembly has decided upon adult franchise for the whole of the Union and has abolished all distinctions in the matter of sex, colour and creed. This involves education to our masters of the future, and our masters of the future in universal adult franchise are expected to number one hundred and seventy million human souls. Ten per cent of the total population of India, at the last census of 1941, was reported to be able to read and write their names. Franchise on symbols, on personalities, on creeds without discrimination of persons and parties, is bound to be a dismal failure. Education is not the politics of a nation but it must constitute its policy. If this policy is correctly interpreted, we require more education, but we require better education.

On the 15th of August, 1947, the day of the partition, this University was left with fifty-seven colleges of all denominations in the various Faculties. The number of schools shrank down from 2,300 to 795. Such has been the hunger for education in this province that within the course of the last eighteen months the number of colleges has gone up to 87. Of these, twelve colleges are exclusively intended for women. Three have women's sections, separate from men's departments and 12 admit co-education as a principle of admission. Of these 87 colleges, 37 are situated in Calcutta and the rest are in the districts. Imphal, Manipur and Cooch-Behar still retain their filial relationships with us. The number of high schools within the province has increased from 795 to more than 1,000. The States of Sikkim, Cooch-Behar and Manipur, the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands with thirty high schools, are still within the jurisdiction of this University. I may also mention in this connection that Chandernagore, yet a possession outside the Indian Union, maintains its colleges and schools under us. Private enterprise, therefore, in the course of a year and a half, has given birth to thirty new colleges and more than two hundred high schools. To attempt to put a bar upon the acquisition of knowledge, to attempt to stifle the craving for education in this province either in the name of efficiency or in the name of re-orientation of educational policy or in the name of better and more efficient administration will be an attempt to stem the tide of the rising ocean. One is almost inclined to recall to memory the story of Canute and his Courtiers. I put the strongest possible plea for adequate financial aid from the tax-payers' monies for these educational institutions started by private enterprise. I recall to memory the drops of blood which have been shed by those who have dreamt of them, who have brought them into being, and have organised and maintained them without any subvention from the coffers of the State either in the past or even in the present.

I now review the picture of the activities of your University and my University in the matter of exami-

nations. We are again the biggest examining body, as we are the biggest teaching and research institute in India. The Controller of Examinations, with the Additional Controller and the Assistant Controller, one Office Superintendent and 42 Assistants, has to hold 62 different types of examinations for candidates within the jurisdiction of this University. The total number of candidates at the different examinations of this University exceeded 80,000 in 1946. This figure rose to 1,00,000 in 1947. In 1948 the total number went down to 62,000. 1949 figures again show a rise. The magnitude of the work of the Examination Section is neither realised nor visualised by our countrymen and our countrywomen. The Controller of Examinations has to make arrangements for the appointment of 2,500 Paper-setters. He has to collect more than 1,850 question papers from them. The questions have to be moderated, edited, printed and entered in the register. He has to scrutinise the applications of nearly 1,00,000 candidates for admission to the different examinations. He has to prepare statements of the question papers and scripts required at each of the 180 examination centres scattered far and wide. Admit cards of the examinees have to be written out and sent to different institutions. Question papers have to be packed and despatched with safety to their respective destinations. He has to collect 8,00,000 scripts from the examination centres, and distribute them amongst 3,400 Examiners, and Head Examiners. The marks of the number of candidates ranging between 62,000 and 1,00,000 have to be tabulated by 50 Tabulators. The results are then to be published. Certificates of the successful candidates varying between 40,000 and 50,000 have to be written out, signed and despatched. Prizes, medals and scholarships have to be awarded to successful candidates. All these involve constant correspondence with candidates, with the members of the public, Examiners, Head Examiners, Tabulators and Government officials at the different centres. The Controller's Department finds no rest in the year excepting during the month of October. 257 days out

of 365 days in the year are consumed in the discharge of heavy responsibilities to the University and the Nation.

Indiscipline amongst a section of students, the adoption of unfair means at the examination centres, threats and assaults on invigilators which have become matters of regrettable daily occurrence, strikes for postponement of examinations and exhibition of temper and violence for the slightest act of omission or commission, imaginary or real, add to the complexities of the situation and make the problems almost insoluble. I plead earnestly to the public-spirited citizens of this province to see that the examinations at the various centres are conducted properly. Idle complaints and grievances ventilated in public, may just lie at rest till, at any rate, normalcy returns to our country.

I have attempted to present before you the picture of our achievements of a century. I shall address to you a few words now about our failures. The causes of our failures are varied and numerous. We have failed to raise moral values amongst many of our students. The system of education divorced from moral instruction and from spiritual upliftment slowly deadens into a mechanised system. The balance sheet of profit and loss only accentuates mercenary considerations. We have lived through two World Wars, with their attendant vices. We in Bengal have lived through war, famine, flood, frustration and strife. We reap today, the bitter fruits of political, economical and social maladjustment in India. Bengal stands divided, 'childless and throneless in her voiceless woe.' We have not been able to develop amongst our pupils that civic sense which does not insist merely upon the enforcement of fundamental rights. We have not been able to inspire disciplined thought. We have hesitated to demand of all that sacrifice which makes nations great. We have not been able to engender in our pupils that loyalty and devotion to the *Alma Mater* which are the hall-marks

of reputed universities in the West. Youth in every country in the world, is restless. We have not been able, due to geographical, political and economic reasons, to canalise the restless spirit of the youth of the country. If we could instil in their minds the imperative necessity of performing national and social service, if we could congregate them, as students and citizens elsewhere are congregated in religious faiths, if we had the power to inspire them to make supreme sacrifices for the defence of our beloved land, if we could introduce conscription for national services including the defence services of the country, our leaders of the morrow would have blossomed forth in the world.

Throughout the centuries, through which these territories washed by the sacred waters of the Ganges have passed, Bengal has had an independence and an integrity of her own. We cannot afford to forget that here within these territories was born "the Light of Asia." Here was evolved the language which brought solace to millions, in days, when Sanskrit was translated from the language of the gods into the language of men. Here within these territories was added a system of philosophy which gloriously lives by the foremost philosophical systems of the world. Here in these territories were evolved that character and that script which yet today rule more provinces and territories than our own. Here in these territories a son of Bengal solved the problem of religious equality based on faith and love. From these territories, we had the privilege through the mist of time, to send out sailors and torch-bearers of Indian culture to far-off lands, across unchartered oceans.

With the acquisition of independence by India, Calcutta has secured a new significance. Calcutta ceased to be the imperial capital of India nearly forty years ago. Calcutta is not the political capital of India today; yet she is the cultural and the commercial

capital of India. She looks east as Bombay looks west. On the University of Calcutta has fallen the supreme task of resurrecting that culture which in by-gone centuries brought peace and good-will amongst the people of the whole of south-eastern Asia.

Our aspirations therefore are great. We claim inheritance from battered Nalanda of ancient times. We are just a century old. Nalanda shed its lustre upon the whole of Asia for more than ten centuries. Our first ambition is to make every student a man—that man we hope to make a gentleman. Our ambition is to hold an honoured place amongst all the great seats of learning, past and present, in the world. Our ambition is to serve as a laboratory for all experiments in the country,—social, political and economic. Our ambition is to effect an integration of our University with our national activities in the domain of humanities, in the domain of industry, of science and technology, commerce and agriculture. We do not propose to live like frogs in the well. We want to maintain intimate and affectionate relationships with other centres of culture in India and abroad.

During the year that has gone by, we heard with religious attention and reverent admiration lectures from scholars of world renown. Sir John Madsen, Professor of Electrical Engineering in the University of Sidney and Chairman of Radio Research Board of Australia, Leader of the Australian Delegation to the All-India Science Congress, made us familiar with the position of research in Australia. Sir Philip Kerr Grant, Professor of Physics in the University of Adelaide, one of the foremost Physicists in Australia talked to us about the study of Physics in Australia. Australia, we must not forget, is yet an immense agricultural country. Professor Renou of the University of Paris, a great scholar in the domain of Indology, delivered to our teachers and students a course of lectures on the influence of India on French literature and culture.

On the invitation of the American Association of Universities, we have in our turn deputed Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar to lecture to the American Universities and centres of learning. A proposal for exchange of professors on Indology between the University of Rome and our University is in the process of negotiation.

Last year I had the privilege of attending a conference of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of University Colleges included within the Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire in England. On behalf of the Government of India, I had the proud privilege of representing India at the Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) at Beirut in Lebanon. I came into contact with mighty minds in the domain of culture, law and politics throughout the world and I have laid my humble experience at the altar of our University.

Two proposals, one by the Government of West Bengal and the other by the Government of India, are attempting to grapple with the educational problems of this province and of India. The Government of West Bengal has been piloting the Secondary Education Board Bill through the provincial legislature. The attitude of this University to the Secondary Education Board Bill is well-known. This University has insisted on the acceptance of four fundamental propositions. Firstly, the proposed Secondary Education Board should have definite objectives. The only aim of the Board must not be concentration of authority in the hands of the Government, reformed or unreformed. Secondly, the Secondary Board must be properly organised so as to be a reservoir of men with actual teaching experience in schools and colleges, autonomous in its functions, enjoying the maximum possible academic independence, freed from the trammels of University tradition as also the incubus of a bureaucracy. Thirdly, the Secondary Education Board must have adequate financial guarantees

from the State so that contented teachers may function properly and that the Secondary Education Board in this province may be both self-contained and self-sufficient. Fourthly, this University should be in a position to maintain the inherent right of every University in the world to regulate its admission test, and if legislation invests the Board with the power of conducting and regulating a School Leaving Examination, this University must have adequate statutory financial guarantees about the loss of its revenues. We must not forget that the Universities in our neighbouring provinces are yet custodians of their Matriculation Examinations. The draft Secondary Education Board Bill is on public view.

The second proposal to which I must refer relates to the appointment of the Universities Commission by the Government of India. The difficulties of the Universities Commission are indeed great. University education in India today, with three notable exceptions on historical and political grounds, is a provincial subject. The Universities Commission will have to consider and our Constituent Assembly will have to decide whether or not University education should be a subject included within the concurrent legislative list. The difficulties of such a proposal are great. We must guard against the possibilities of distance not lending enchantment to the view. Provincial Governments may not take as much interest in the financial positions of Universities within their jurisdiction as heretofore. So far as is known, neither the Government at the centre, nor the Governments of the provinces, have given financial guarantees to the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission. The Universities Commission will have to recommend to the Governments concerned their assessment of financial contributions to Universities throughout the Union and the manner and the method of the disbursement of such State grants. The Uni-

versities Commission will have to judge about the existing and the future relationships between Universities in India and their respective Governments. The Universities Commission will have to give a verdict on the question whether the universities in India should be State organs as in the Continent of Europe or as in Latin America or whether they should thrive and prosper on the model of universities of the United Kingdom or of the United States of America. A desire for standardization of all our universities to a set system or pattern, will reduce our universities to dull uniformity and is sure to curtail their utility.

Over all theoretical discussions about the utility or the futility of university education towers the question of finance. Due to partition, this University has suffered an annual loss of revenue to the extent of nearly ten lacs. That yawning gap in our finance has not yet been bridged by the Provincial Government or the Government at the Centre.

May I on my behalf and on behalf of the Senate of the University of Calcutta, offer our grateful thanks to the Government of West Bengal, specially to its head the Hon'ble Premier Dr. B. C. Roy, for the generous grant of 15 lacs and 26 thousand rupees to this University in their budget for the year 1949-50 and the Government of India for the advance grant last year of 2 lacs and 25 thousand rupees for purposes of developing and expanding our post-graduate departments of Applied Physics and Chemistry. The Government of India has also granted us an interest-free loan of Rs. 50,000 for the construction of hostels for Science students. It has also paid us Rs. 60,000 for the year 1948-49 for researches in Nuclear Physics and a lump sum of 3 lacs and 50 thousand rupees for the construction of buildings for that purpose. The Government of West Bengal granted the sum of 14 lacs and 64 thousand rupees to this University last year. That Government has furthermore just offered to pay us a loan of 25 lacs of rupees for the expansion of the University College of Science. The loan is repayable with interest

within thirty years' time. Yesterday, the 18th March, 1949, I received a most welcome communication from the Government of India offering this University the following sums of money in three categories :

(1) Capital Grant for building purposes and equipments, (2) Recurring Grant and (3) Interest-free loan for the purpose of further developing the departments of Applied Physics, Radio Physics and Electronics and Applied Chemistry. The Building Grant will be extended for a period of three years. The Equipment Grant will cover a period of four years. The Interest-free loan is intended for residence of Science students. For the purpose of building the maximum amount payable to the University is nine lacs seventy-nine thousand. For the purpose of equipment the maximum amount is Rupees seven lacs sixty-seven thousand. The Recurring Grant every year will be Rupees two lacs nineteen thousand. The Interest-free loan for residence of students will be Rupees two lacs sixty-seven thousand. All told the Capital Grant comes to Rupees twenty lacs; out of which Rupees two lacs fifty-four thousand represent Interest-free loan repayable by the University in thirty-three equal annual instalments, the first of such payment is to begin from 1951. The Government of India has directed me to withdraw the sum of Rupees four lacs thirty thousand before 31st March, 1949, by way of advanced grant, the accounts to be adjusted at the close of the transactions. Such bounties are almost unknown to Universities in India. The promise of the Government of India to grant subvention to this University to the extent of 2 lacs and 50 thousand rupees for the purpose of the erection of a building for the All-India Institute of Social Welfare still stands. I regret, however, that our Provincial Government has not found it possible yet to make its grant to this University statutory in character. Our daughter Universities at Dacca and Gauhati both enjoy this essential measure of financial security.

Last year this University secured from Rai Bahadur Bisweswar Lall Moti Lall Halwasiya Trust the sum of Rs. 5,000 for the purpose of founding a

lectureship on the glories of Rajasthan. We have secured the sum of Rs. 1,724-11-0 from the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta for the purpose of awarding a prize on philosophy of religion. The sum of Rs. 8,000 has been donated by Mr. Shyamlal Nayak for the encouragement of Matriculates from Midnapore. I hope Midnapore with its glorious traditions of past will ere long have a fully equipped Technological College at Kharagpur and a Nautical School at Kolaghat. The geographical, economic and industrial importance of these two places can easily be understood. We have also received from the Reception Committees of the All-India Economic Conference as also the All-India Commerce Conference, sessions of which were held under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, with its Vice-Chancellor as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the sums of Rs. 4,600 and Rs. 4,200 respectively. The donation made by the All-India Economic Conference will, it is understood, be utilised for the erection and equipment of a Chair in Economics to perpetuate the memory of R. C. Dutt of revered memory, great as a patriot, great as a scholar, great as a writer, great as a champion of economic freedom in our country.

Fellow graduates of the University of Calcutta, may I now take the liberty of addressing a few words to you today ? I know, advice in these days as in the days of Thomas Carlyle, is seldom listened to. Leadership is often challenged today, age and experience are held to be rusty and crusty traditions of a bygone age. Today is a red-letter day in your lives. It is a great day also for your *Alma Mater*. We have had less than hundred such days in the course of nearly hundred years of our life. Do not regard this Convocation as a mere formal congregation. Do not characterise its proceedings as mere priest-ridden rituals. Do not regard the charge which I had the privilege of administering to you today, namely that by habit and conversation you may prove yourselves worthy

of the degrees which have been conferred on you, as useless and worthless chants. Do not treat your diplomas as mere parchment papers. They are invaluable symbols. Symbols in life have demanded untold sacrifices from men and women who have stood by them. For the flag of a country how many lives have not been laid down in the course of history? For religion, for nationality and for liberty has not the world, for centuries, grovelled through a welter of blood? Remember that everybody who is anybody in the land of ours is a child of the University. Your *Alma Mater* demands of you disciplined thought, regulated conduct, moral and spiritual upliftment. We have indeed secured liberty. Remember that liberty is not license. We have acquired independence. Remember that independence is not impertinence. Age has the century-old habit of casting longing, lingering looks behind. Youth looks forward to the future with beaming faces, lighted with divine hopes. Will you, graduates of the University of Calcutta, not be able to span the past and the future? Our freedom is less than two years old. Will you not be able to nurture this freedom into glorious adolescence so that all of us may hold our heads high in the councils of the nations of the world? For this, you have to undergo tremendous sacrifices. Despise not the immemorial traditions of your great country. In your speech and in your action you must always bear in mind that you are sons or you are daughters of Mother India. Do not, pray; agonise Her soul by indisciplined thought, ungentlemanly action, irresponsible talk. The height, the length, the breadth of the greatness of your culture will be assessed by the world at large, by what you do in your lives after you leave the portals of your University. The University of today and of the future, will await with bated breath to learn from you that you have succeeded in your mission. The world today is surrounded by fear and sorrow. India herself stands on the cross-road of history. Will

the road be trodden by you as a road of mud and dust or will that road be enlivened by your firm treads? Life is short, art is long. May you, when your day's work is done, have a night's sweet repose in the comforting faith of something attempted, something done. That something attempted, that something done, must be as great as your country is great! The world today is indeed enveloped in gloom. You will have to light there a light which will never die. Let us all with one voice pray to Him on high—

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step is enough for me.

Graduates of my University, go forth to the world. Show the world the 'mettle of your pasture'. Go forth to conquer passions and prejudices, poverty and sickness with the blessings of us all.

BANDE MATARAM

His Excellency the Chancellor's speech at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on 19th March, 1949

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, GRADUATES OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

No merit of my own but the accident of office enables me to occupy this distinguished chair this morning. As an Indian I cannot conceive of a higher honour than being the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. Among our historic cities Calcutta is young in years, but this University is the oldest amongst the Universities of modern India. Many Universities in other parts of India, now flourishing and in the joy of life, are its daughters and during the last hundred years the University of Calcutta has sent out into the world scholars and statesmen, scientists and philosophers whose names would shed lustre on any University of the world. To be connected with such a seat of learning, even for a short time and quite unmeritoriously too, is for me a piece of rare good fortune and a matter of pride also. Let me, therefore, commence this short address by congratulating myself on the honour which has fallen to my lot—an honour which I shall ever cherish for the rest of my life. To the fortunate recipients of degrees and diplomas and other symbols of recognition of outstanding merit, I tender my heartiest felicitations. The Vice-Chancellor has already charged each one of you, graduates, to be worthy of the degree which he has conferred upon you. I should like to add to those solemn words that today you formally become a particle in that great stream of learning which has been continuously flowing out of this University all these years and has watered the great land of Bengal into intellectual blossom, fruit and flower. As the Persian poet says, drops flowing in union become the river Nile (*Katra katra me shawad Daryea Neel*). Therefore, though you may be even like a drop in this mighty river of learning, which I hope and pray, will continue to flow for centuries, yet every drop, though in itself small, plays its allotted

part in irrigating a thirsty land. Putting it in another way, I pray that each one of you may, by the grace of God Almighty, become in your own sphere a centre wherefrom may radiate light dispelling darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Some people make light of University drgrees, consider them cheap and of little account. I do not. A University degree, marks solemnly and formally the end of a particular period in a man or woman's life devoted primarily to the acquisition of knowledge. The traveller now proceeds from one stage to another. As a student it was his duty to learn and to equip himself for the further stages in the great march of life. He was young and was so far travelling under the care and shelter of his elders, of his parents who assisted him with material resources, of his teachers who endeavoured to enrich his mind with the treasures and secrets of knowledge of body and mind and of the nature outside. And he travelled all along so far—or should have done so—with only one care and that was to acquire for himself a healthy mind in a healthy body. And now the first stage in the journey is reached and those who had guided him so far are now going to take leave of him and set him on the great adventure of life, where he would be his own guide, the maker of his own fortune and the architect of his own destiny. For believe me, one who owes his success and, may be, his career to extraneous influences unconected with his own merit does not taste to the full that pleasure and keenness which arise from danger and risk and uncertainty: It is only those who, leaving the arms of their bounteous mother, their *Alma Mater*, carve their own fortunes by their own efforts and exertions that experience the real joy of life and even find in retrospect its sorrows and anxieties, troubles and tribulations refreshing and fragrant. For those of you, therefore, who are today going out of this University for all time this day should be one of the most important in your life. You will now be confronted with manifold problems ; your parents who were so far supporting you cheerfully—and I know many many parents in India do so with great hardship to themselves, denying themselves even necessities of life so that their beloved ones may not suffer while engaged in their

studies—shall now look forward to your faring for yourselves. And many of you, who have not already done so, will very likely embark upon the life of a householder and shoulder new responsibilities. A householder's life is one of peculiar joy and of daily practice of the great art of renunciation. Even its pains are sweet because it is not a small thing to have at your side a companion for life to share your joys and sorrows, as a comrade and a helpmate who acts always as an incentive to effort and enterprise. The responsibilities of this new life jointly borne rest lightly upon young shoulders and indeed add zest to life itself. But apart from matters of private concern to each of you in your own personal lives, there is the great Mother, the great Bharat Mata, whom you have worshipped so far in song and, may be, in flowers and dance and music, who will now make an insistent call upon your services so that she may ever remain free, as she is now, from fetters and bondage and stand erect in the comity of nations with pride and self-respect, glorying in the sons and daughters that she possesses. I trust that the call of this great Mother will not fall on deaf ears. I pray that to most of you may be given the good fortune to tread that path of duty, which is also the way to glory. God grant that you may be able, while you are earning your own livelihood, also to feel that you are at the same time serving the country itself, adding to its wealth by your labours or freeing your countrymen from ignorance and disease and poverty.

It is customary to tender advice to young graduates on such occasions. I do not propose to do so. In the first place I do not consider myself competent and, secondly, if you have not, in your pursuit of knowledge all these years and in your companionship with your teachers, learnt all that makes life worth living and how to live it, then nothing that I can tell you this morning within five or ten minutes can be of much avail. I would only suggest that while you would apply yourselves with industry and determination to your avocations, do not forget the great company of the dead; mix daily for an hour or so in that blessed company and I am sure you will find in their books best friends and most valuable counsellors. And among the dead I recommend to you strongly the ancient masters the so-called classics, those

who have kept the name and fame of India alive through these countless centuries. Their voice, sweet and soothing and melodious, comes to us fresh and deathless through all these corridors of time in prose and verse in Sanskrit, the language of the Gods which has descended for the use of men for the elevation of mankind. I have no desire whatsoever to enter into any discussion on this occasion of the muchdebated question of the national language. But this I feel strongly that our old Pandits sometimes lowly in worldly wealth, through good report and evil and sometimes in the midst of contumely, have kept the old flame burning, and by zealously guarding and handing over to posterity generation after generation, this treasure of Sanskrit they are entitled to our deepest gratitude. The national culture and its traditions lie embedded in Sanskrit literature. While Captains and Kings depart in all their glory and are soon forgotten, our immortal poets and the philosophers, the saints and seers of our race, by their wisdom and the magic of their words, sustain and comfort us in our griefs and sorrows and enable us to pass through even the ordeals of fire unhurt. I rejoice to think that there is on all sides a growing recognition of the importance of Sanskrit as a priceless part of our national heritage and that in this University very large numbers of students become familiar with Sanskrit in high schools. Just as Carlyle speaking over 110 years ago said that the British people would not surrender their Shakespeare for all the wealth and the power of the British Empire in India. Similarly I would ask you to cherish this wisdom in its ancient garb as the very staff of life. The idea of creating in India a national language which should be understood and spoken, read and written, throughout length and breadth of India is a noble ambition. But whether it is capable of achievement without the whole-hearted co-operation of every section of the community in India is debatable. Unless such a national language is taught in every school in India and its use insisted upon in every branch of our public activities in each Province, in the administrative offices and Legislative Assemblies and in the Law Courts and in the press and on platform, success may be hard to attain. Meanwhile, the growing appeal of Sanskrit throughout the length and

breadth of India is becoming more and more attractive and powerful and may well form a living link to cement together the various people of India.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you have given us an impressive account of the love of learning which inspires the people of this great Province. To the intensity of this love I can testify from personal knowledge. It is heartening to see how through the public-spirited generosity of its citizens has spread a network of schools and colleges in every nook and corner of the Province. Indeed it is difficult to move 3 or 4 miles in any direction without coming across a high school in the rural areas. This thirst for knowledge is remarkable and is a good omen for the future glorious development of the race. At the same time just as it is necessary that a thirsty man should not have only water provided for him but that the water should also be pure and not germ-laden, similarly it is in the public interest that our boys and girls should congregate together in schools and colleges fit for human habitation, and education should not consist merely in book learning but should, as the name implies, consist in drawing out all the faculties of the scholar building up the health of his body as well as the vigour of his intellect and his mind. It is a matter for regret that many of our schools and colleges carry on their work in buildings not well-adapted for the purpose, in uncongenial and even unhealthy surroundings. It might be in my opinion, dangerous if we were to sit idle and not take adequate measures to improve wherever improvement is urgently needed. It is proper that Government should help to the utmost of its resources. But Government can only draw upon the wealth of the people. It cannot draw upon any extraneous sources. In the ultimate analysis the duty falls upon the people themselves to see to it that education is imparted to their children in healthy surroundings. As an illustrious example of what people can do to help themselves I cannot help citing to you the instance of the villagers of the Kalindi union in the Contai subdivision of the Midnapore district who cheerfully raise nearly Rs. 5,500 per year by self-imposed taxation in their union, just half the annual cost of running their high school, and make it a self-supporting institution without

the aid of any Government grant whatsoever. It should be borne in mind that whether people pay the money to Government through taxation or they pay it by choice, by voluntary donation, it is the people themselves who have to bear the entire expense of all governmental and nation-building agencies.

University education presents intricate problems throughout India, more particularly in Calcutta in view of the congestion and pressure of numbers under which all Calcutta educational institutions are compelled to work. It is our good fortune that the whole problem of the Indian University education in the present context of Indian independence is undergoing a thorough examination by a highly qualified body of educationists. Out of the deliberations of this University Commission nothing but good is bound to ensue. We in Calcutta shall await its recommendations with interest bordering on impatience because our problems are indeed acute.

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have referred to the series of the University Commissions during the last 70 years which have periodically reviewed the progress of education in India and made suitable recommendations. Personally I remember very well the Royal Universities Commission which toured India in the years 1902 and 1903 of which Sir Gurudas Banerjee was a distinguished member. Incidentally I owe to that great and good man, though I saw him only once in my life in my college in Lahore in 1903, the inspiration which has completely directed my whole life career throughout all these forty-five years. While the nation recognises with gratitude the impetus and the direction which all these University Commissions have given to the course of University education in India from time to time. I sometimes reflect with some wonder that each succeeding generation seems to be dissatisfied with the system of education under which it has grown up. The test of a good system should be that those who are brought up under it should not only demonstrate that they are a much better group than the people who did not enjoy similar advantages, but they also consider it so beneficial that they would like it to continue and let the lives of their children and their children's children to be regulated by

it. Constant hankering for improvement, however, belies such an expectation and every generation, finding fault with its forbears, seeks to devise new systems of education on new patterns. We seem to suffer acutely from this everlasting pursuit of the seemingly unattainable ideals, because in the olden days when men lived more contented and restful lives there was contentment also with the *Ashram* system of education in India.

Before I take leave of you, I should like to add one more word. We live in an age of science and it is essential that India should make its own contribution in the realm of science. India has reason to be proud of what her sons have already achieved in this field. Jagadish Chandra Bose, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray and the great Raman, and many others are scientists of world-wide renown and I have no doubt that our Indian Universities, and particularly the Calcutta University, will continue to impart the highest scientific training to Indian youth so that India may not lag behind in the race of scientific development. Science holds the key these days to all material advancement and economic prosperity. But unfortunately science also holds the key to mass destruction and it is sometimes difficult to assess the debits and credits of the contribution of science to the welfare of mankind. This question which confronts us all will press upon you more deeply because you are young and will soon be called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of guiding this country in these perplexing times. Different ideologies clamour for world-wide acceptance and based as they are mostly on a materialistic view of life contain in them seeds of ever-recurring class as well as international warfare resulting in fearful destruction of life and property. I shall ask you to consider dispassionately whether among these conflicting ideologies you must, willy-nilly, accept the one or the other and thereby participate in the inevitable tremendous struggle of the future. Or whether you should not, in your own interest as well as in the interest of mankind, hold fast to a set of beliefs of your own in consonance with the genius and traditions of our race. These beliefs, age-long experience has shown, promote human welfare and happiness. If I were not of the firm belief that in these distracting days India

can point out to the rest of the world a way of life wherein lies both safety and security for mankind at large, I would not think this life worth living. We have been taught in India that while acquisition of wealth is necessary for the day-to-day life of the community, the end of life is not such an acquisition, but on the contrary the goal lies in its renunciation for the benefit of our neighbours and, if possible, for the community as a whole. In India learning has always been entitled to claim reverence, and the political power is created for the maintenance of peace and order, but mere possession of wealth confers neither power nor prestige. In its use for public good in spirit of renunciation lies true happiness. That is our way of life, call it the Buddhist way of life with its noble eight-fold path, call it the way of the *Karma Yogi* described in the *Bhagwat Gita* which men and women of our race instinctively have sought to pursue in countless generations, and thereby they have preserved us as a distinct entity all these thousands of years while other peoples with different notions have perished and are forgotten. I would ask you to hold fast to the ancient moorings and to keep before yourselves always the ideal of the *Karma Yogi*, of one who is a devotee of the temple of the undistracted mind, of one, who is fearless but full of compassion for those who suffer or are in distress, and is engaged, unhasting, unresting, in incessant action for the welfare of the community without attachment to the fruit of that action. That has been the ideal which has been to our race the breath of its life in the past and I pray that it may continue ever so in the future.

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Speech delivered by Sri P. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta in the Lunch Conference on 4th March, 1949.

MR. VALENTA, MR. CHATTERJEE AND GENTLEMEN,

My first words must be words of thanks to you for the kind and cordial welcome which you have extended to me today, a famished Brahmin in the city of Calcutta, with lunch which was indeed very good. It was also free for me.

This is my first visit to Batanagar. I sometimes wonder how ignorant we are about our neighbours. On the 15 August, 1947, when India acquired her present status, I was called upon to unfurl the National flag in the All-India School of Hygiene. The All-India School of Hygiene is situated next door to the place where I have devoted 32 years of a fairly crowded life and that was my first visit to an institution supposed to be affiliated to the University of Calcutta, of which I am the first servant. I come to Batanagar today, to see your wonderful dream city. I call it a dream city, because the ideal which gave birth to this great city alongside its great industry is an ideal which could only be born of the dreams of a great man. The question is, has his dreams come true? I have not had sufficient time to inspect the various organisations attached to this city—I have been assured by Mr. Chatterjee that opportunity will be afforded to me. How I wish that I carried with me my "Aba"! It is an Arabic word for "dress." A friend of mine at Amman, the Capital of Transjordan, in early December last made a present of the Aba to me. It, at any rate, covers a bald head and although your surfoundings are so peaceful today and although your atmosphere is cooler than the great city of Calcutta,

I should have liked to have a cover for a bald head which has gone bald because of the wisdom inside it. Gentlemen, those amongst you who are bald, will scratch your heads and after a hard day's labour when you go back to your homes be delighted with the idea that inside your brain there is nothing but intelligence and super-intelligence. The subject for my speech is one which has been suggested by Mr. Valenta himself now. Sometime ago, when my distinguished friend and master His Excellency Sri Rajagopalachari and I were both present as guests of honour in an institution similarly situated, I said that in Calcutta City there were three great public orators—in the descending scale, the first was the Governor of Bengal at the time—now the Governor General of India, the second was the Prime Minister of the Province and the third was the great Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. Today I have been placed in an embarrassing position because Mr. Valenta would not open his lips further than sheer politeness and courtesy and decorum allowed him to do so and therefore I have to address you with a struggling heart perhaps also struggling for breath. The subject, again I say, is one which has been chosen for me about which I am supremely ignorant. But what are the privileges of the Vice Chancellors of Universities both here and abroad? I am familiar with all my colleagues almost throughout the whole world now. It is their privilege to talk on subjects about which they are supremely ignorant. So my course of conduct and my course of action are both justified by precedence in the society where I live and where I move. To give you a concrete illustration, I know nothing about the Faculty of Medicine—I know nothing about the Faculty of Engineering. Similarly, when I come here, I know nothing about this factory excepting perhaps about a number of young souls who have come out of the factory which they call the University of Calcutta—and I am really very proud of my University. I remember, 40 years ago when I came to Calcutta town, a lonely boy with not a single face known in the vast city of Calcutta, I lived in a hostel in the second floor and after 36 years of my life I had been degraded and I now work in a chamber down below, in the first floor of what are called the Darbhanga Buildings. So mine has not been a life of promoton—it has been a life of demotion. I do not know whether the same principle applies to your factory life. The University of Calcutta even today is the biggest University in the whole world. It is a tall claim, to make, but it is a claim which I have justified in the presence of the Universities' Commission with the Government of India which

has just been appointed. In point of numbers, I am second to none, but whether numbers count in life or not is a question on which the verdict of history may be different from its verdict today. We all talk about the democratic way of life. Most of the countries of the world have adopted democratic way of life and there quantity is always a factor and which must be reckoned with. Whether in future quality will be sacrificed on the wave of quantity is a question which posterity will be called upon to decide. I have not had the pleasure of visiting the High School which Batanagar has started. I only had just now the privilege of meeting its distinguished Head Master, Mr. De. High Schools are still within the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta. Before the partition of India I had to administer 2450 high schools situated in territories which are now two provinces of India and a province of Eastern Pakistan and Indian States bordering right up to the confines of Lhassa. The number of high schools within my jurisdiction was equal to the number of high schools in the rest of what used to be called British India. The partition left me with 795 high schools—the date is well known—15th of August, 1947 and there is such a craze for education in this province that between the 15th of August, 1947 and yesterday, the 3rd March, 1949, about 300 new high schools have sprung up. The number of colleges which I have to administer is 88. On the date of the partition, their number was 132. Here again within the course of less than 20 months, 31 new colleges have been born. This craze for education is absolutely understandable in a country like India in its present political set-up, not because education is supposed to be the solvent of most of the problems that face humanity, to which Mr. Valenta made a passing reference, but because unless we have education we cannot carry on the governance of this vast country which is almost a continent by itself. You are fully aware of the fact that the Constituent Assembly of India has decided to introduce adult franchise at the next general election. Whether that decision has been a wise one or not it is not for me to question. In 1870 when franchise was extended in the U.K. as the second Parliament Act of England, Mr. Law, the President of the Board of Education very grimly remarked, "we must now try to educate our masters." The education of the masters was completed within the course of the next half a century and the United Kingdom today stands in the forefront of the countries which believe in the democratic way of life. Similarly, in our country, the percentage of literacy stands at a very low figure. At the census operations of 1941 it was recorded to be in the

neighbourhood of only 10. Well if we have to educate our masters not only for the purposes of industries, not merely for the purposes of agriculture, nor for commerce, but for the whole nation at large, the one great task which lies ahead of us is the task of educating our masters. I made a rough calculation; if the total population of the Indian Union, including Indian States which have merged into the Indian Union, is taken into consideration, we shall have in 1951 nearly 330 million souls. In adult franchise we are likely to have a total number of voters from 170 to 180 million souls. I think I am quite right when I say that there is no country in the world —not with the exception of Soviet Russia where we have such a huge number. I was one of those who had the privilege of facing the general election in this province in 1937. The number of my voters was in the neighbourhood of 100,000 and my voters most of them belonged to the factories and to the profession of plough. They could not even remember the names of rival candidates. They had no idea about the programme which each political party had to offer them. They voted in accordance with symbols. Candidates were called upon to use symbols and I very wisely chose the *Hooka*. One of my rivals chose the *Lantern* and a third one the *Ship*. I was myself present at a number of these polling booths. All candidates shall in duty bound ever pray to their voters. The scrap of conversation I heard was to the following effect: One of my enthusiasts said, "We must vote for the Hooka." The other said, "Why not for the Lantern?" The voters in favour of the Hooka said, "We prefer the Hooka after a hard day's work in the factory or with the plough." When we come back to our little homes, the lantern helps us a lot, but if the night is moon-lit, then the lantern is of no use, but, after a hearty meal the hooka gives us rest for the night."—In the words of Longfellow something attempted—something done. The ship was nowhere. My area was Burdwan including Asansol. What could ships do there? Ships do not sail on solid land! The result was the great Mr. P. N. Banerjee was returned to the Bengal Legislative Assembly with a majority almost unknown in that year's election in India, because he had chosen the Hooka. That accounts for the reason why tobacco is now either a state monopoly or is subject to heavy taxation. So, those of you who are enjoying in innocent pastime of having a smoke will always vote in favour in future of the gentleman who has come home today.

Talking about education, one of the aims of the University of Calcutta is to integrate the system of education with the industries

of the country. It is a new policy which I had the proud privilege of initiating during the first term of my present office. Industry and education in this country were supposed to live in two water-tight compartments. If you look at the example of the U.S.A. or the example of many of the continental countries, then you will find that there is a great deal of integration between Industry and University education. Universities in this country suffer from pernicious anæmia. They always suffer from chronic financial diseases. Financial diseases, to my mind, are the worst diseases that the evil hand of Satan has brought to the world. I approached the Jute Mills' Association, which at the time was supposed to have been not very friendly towards Indian aspirations. After all, ideas and ideals in the world change. That which was supposed to be a great ideal yesterday is no longer an ideal today and will cease to have its utility tomorrow. As a very humble student of history, two great illustrations come to my mind. You all are familiar with the story of the Crusades where the Cross fought the Crescent, where the Bible fought the Quoran and where the sword fought the scimitar. The zeal of the Crusader today adorns the list of long lost causes. Similarly, the zeal of the Puritan, you remember all of you. In the words of Milton he lived for ever in his great Task-Master's age. Well, the zeal of the Crusader and the religious fervour of the Puritan have been lost, in the classical phrase, of "Lethe's Waves." They left legacies to posterity, but to attempt to resurrect them will be one of the greatest mistakes that humanity could possibly make.

Talking about education again, it is a fundamental maxim that education maketh the man. Equality of opportunity is a daughter of the French Revolution. There the great struggle was for equality of opportunity to all men and to all women. Two centuries have rolled by after that Revolution drenched the world in blood, but the equality of opportunity to all has not yet been executed to its full implications.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me, Mr. Valenta, that you have realised the very great importance of this maxim and you are trying to give to all your men—I do not know if you employ women in your factory—to all your men and women equality of opportunity. The question of questions of the 20th century and perhaps of the centuries to come, when we are all dead and gone and are gathered to our fathers, is how to harness the claims of science with the claims of philosophy. Science is yet young. Its life has covered only three

centuries. Three centuries in the turbid story of the world is but a speck in the ocean, a patch of cloud in the blue sky above. The question of questions still remains how to harness the claims of the humanities represented by philosophy with the claims of science. How to make that resurgent youth now attaining adolescence behave itself properly. This age is called the atomic age. Does atomic age stand only for destruction, or does it stand alone for construction? Do we believe in evolution? Within the womb of that evolution are there any seeds of Revolution? In other words, that is the question which has been agitating the minds of men and women throughout the world; that is the question which has been convulsing century old traditions which yet hold their heads high. I shall see for myself what amount of progress you have made in the direction of offering education to the 8,000 employees who serve you. Education and education alone can convince them that they are also men, that they have the rights of men, but when a person claims rights, he must also be told and told definitely that he has his obligations and his obligations are those which you have mentioned in your speech, namely, obligations to himself first—I am slightly altering your order—obligations to the industry next and obligations to his great country thirdly, and may I add one more, general obligation to humanity? This century—rightly, or wrongly—has produced two world wars. Do you desire a third world war? If not, then the atomic age must recede. If you don't want a third world war, then the claims and ideas propagated by science must be harnessed to the peaceful quiet living recommended by philosophy. If you don't want a third world war, then humanity taking it in all its aspects must be recognised and equality of opportunity must be afforded to all without distinction of race, class, creed, colour or sex. It is a matter of great gratification to all Indians like myself to find my government declaring in unequivocal terms that the equality of sex must be recognised in all spheres of national and international life. So far as India is concerned, it is a doctrine which has a higher implication for trade and commerce and industry of the future. The other day I was reading a newspaper cutting—I am not very fond of newspapers; an irate husband is reported to have said: "wives in the U.S A. suffer widowhood for about eight years on an average and therefore all ladies must marry gentlemen eight years junior in age." Prescription No. 1. Prescription No. 2 is still more exhilarating—all the lady employees from buses and tramcars should be taken out and these places must be filled up by gentlemen. I like the prescription,

but the prescription, in the world as it is situated today, cannot be dispensed.

I think, Mr. Valenta, I have talked enough nonsense to have wasted your time. You had good food and although my voice is not exactly the voice of a singer, yet the bray of that noble animal might perhaps help you in digesting and assimilating your food and when your task for the day is done, you can say to yourself " my task is smoothly done ; I can fly or I can run."

I thank you again for the kindness and courtesy shown to me.

SAROJINI NAIDU

LOTIKA GHOSE, B.LITT. (OXON.), DIP. ED. (OXON.)

Poet, patriot and orator Sarojini Naidu was above all a woman, a woman who in spite of the plenty and chiselled fineness of all the culture the ages had to give her still carried deep in her nature that powerful yet benignant motherhood of the Matriarchal age which was the basic foundation of civilisation. A child of Bengal with all the richness and radiance of imagination and emotion which is Bengal's own, from her long association with the South she accuired the dignity, dynamic power and freedom that is a characteristic of the southern woman. The West too influenced her, modernised her outlook without upsetting her values. The art of India, preserved in its purest form in the South, with its deep spiritual call embedded itself in her nature and built from within an understructure of that indestructible toughness which is native to the spirit and which enabled the Nightingale of India to leave her heaven of poetry and toil and sweat in the mundane world of politics, breathing into it the grace and beauty of that other world to which she really belonged. And because Sarojini Naidu was a poet and artist she brought perfection into whatever she did. Whether she spoke or wrote or organised it was perfectly done and had in it the wholeness of a picture or a piece of music, and she left in it as an artist does the impress of her personality. Some one told me the other day that she had transformed the stuffy dulness and heavy magnificence of the Government House, Lucknow into an airy smiling beauty, and that each room as he passed through breathed of her presence. It only shows what power her personality had acquired to give life and tongue to mute inanimate things.

If Sarojini Naidu was a wonderful woman she was so because she was the daughter of a wonderful father. In assessing an age we are too apt to forget all the thought, the toil and the striving of the previous age which had laboured to give it birth. If in the first half of the twentieth century India has fought and won in her struggle of liberation, if in it Rabindranath, Gandhi and Aurobindo have blossomed forth with a message to the world and a foretelling of things to come, it is because the giants and geniuses of the nineteenth century have nursed and nurtured them. Can one understand Rabindranath without understanding his great father Maharshi Devendranath with his sadhana of the All-Beautiful and the All-True.

Can one understand the Mahatma without understanding that great constructive genius in the social field Gokhale. Can one understand Aurobindo without understanding Rishi Rajnarain Bose, his grandfather, and all that he stood for. Nor can we understand Sarojini Naidu without understanding the great sage, scholar, scientist, educationist, dreamer and catholic patriot Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya. Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya had he been born in the middle ages would have been feared for his great wisdom and knowledge as a wizard for he was of the stuff which made Prospero.

In Sarojini Naidu there was a peculiar power of self-elevation which made her like a bird viewing life and ideas from above so that she never wanted that perspective and range which we get in an aerial survey. Her detachment too was due to the same reason. Yet there was nothing transcendent about her. She was vitally connected with the earth as a flower is, drinking in the sap of the earth but realising herself in colour and beauty. Sne could take the staid dun and grey of life and irradiats them, if not with light, at least with those prismatic hues into which light is split. In fact she was an Ariel labouring to free her country from the chains that bound her, submitting herself to the tyranny of mundane affairs, joyous and free because freedom and joyousness were the very essence of her nature. And those that came in contact with her felt uplifted, poised as it were in a more refined atmosphere where pettiness and narrowness were not. By her ever ready wit and good humour when party passions ran high she could bring a smile in the face of the contending parties so that sanity and often amity prevailed. Amongst all the qualities we extol, frank and free power of laughter at ourselves and others to bring sanity, to heal an ailing world is scarcely recognised. Perhaps it was because Sarojini Naidu had this power to see things in their proper perspective that she was immune from any narrowness, that narrowness which makes us make a bogey of whatever opposes us, and then attack it with a raised sword. Standing as we do today at the brink of a world cataclysm one wonders if Russia had not been segragated and outlawed after the last war whether she would have emerged today in her present narrowly intolerant fanatical form, spreading her doctrines through appealing to the baser passions of men, striking blindly to attain her purpose. Had the ideas of Communism been allowed freedom at a time when Communism was an idealogy with no other backing than the dynamism of the truth that it represented, the world might have evolved into a better state without the conflict of war which has solved no problems and made

Communism take birth as a dominant world power weilding the sword rather than persuading with the idea. Even today it is not too late to remember that hatred begets hatred, suspicion begets suspicion, and fear begets fear. It is well for us to remember that love strong and dynamic with its power to uplift and purify alone can be truly victorious. And it is because Sarojini Naidu had this power like her gurú Mahatma Gandhi that she had the power of uniting supporting and uplifting. Sarojini Naidu was equally beloved and respected by men and women, by the revolutionary and the Gandhi-ite, by Congressmen and Communists. Though a nationalist of nationalists she was one of the world's outstanding internationalists. If she was beloved in India she was equally beloved in Asia and Europe. Bound to Hinduism by the ties of blood she was bound to Islam by the ties of deep love and understanding. After the death of Mahatma Gandhi in the death of Sarojini Naidu the Indian Muslim has lost his greatest friend.

If we take the women who were a power and influence in forming twentieth century India, we can mention four names, Annie Beasant, Sister Nivedita, Sarala Devi, and Sarojini Naidu. The difference between them was marked. In Annie Beasant we had a remarkable woman in whom psychic and intellectual qualities mingled to give birth to a movement which released the soul of India, expressing itself in varied fields of Indian life spiritual, educational, artistic. It is not an accident that the nucleus and main field of Annie Beasant's work was the South, for it is the south that was least affected by the varying streams of culture and movements of religion which streamed into India, for it was the south that had remained most conscious of the soul that was India's.

Sister Nivedita the gifted disciple of Swami Vivekananda was more remarkable for her intellectual and cultural rather than her spiritual gifts. What Annie Beasant was doing in Southern India Sister Nivedita did in Bengal. Associated with the catholic and dynamic spiritual movement whose fountainhead was Sree Ramkrishna, whose preacher was Swami Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita came in contact with all the remarkable minds that were working to make first decade of the twentieth century in India what it was. With her fervent qualities of soul, her remarkable literary gifts, her burning love for India, she worked in many fields. With that fine quality of self-effacement which is the characteristic of true greatness perhaps we shall never guage the extent and strength of the inspiration which Sister Nivedita was to Swami Vivekananda, to Rabindra-

nath Tagore, to Avanindranath Tagore, to Aurobindo Ghose and to Jagadish Bose. The rich flowering of the culture of India which took place in Bengal in various fields in the beginning of ths twentieth century was not a little due to Sister Nivedita. That she was closely connected with and an inspiration to the young revolutionaries of Bengalis is amply proved by her close association with them, as well as with Aurovindo Ghose.

Sarala Devi Chaudharani had neither the psychic gifts of Annie Beasant nor the revolutionary ardour of Sister Nivedita but she had a masculine intellect, a force of will and high physical courage that made her the leader of a semi-political Physical culture movement and the idol of young Bengal in the first decade of the twentieth century. Her association with the Congress was lifelong as was her work amongst Indian women. She typified the woman of action motivated by a strong intellect and will.

Sarojini Naidu had not the Psychic depth of Annie Beasant, the intellectual finenes of Sister Nivedita nor the masculine strength of mind of Sarala Devi. In fact in her complete womanliness she was a contrast to Sarala Devi. Yet strength was hers too, the strength to sustain and nourish, the strength to love and cherish. She had sweetness and beauty and prismatic colouring in her speech and writing. Vital and living she gave life to all she touched. It was her large naturalness, her high humanity, her wide catholicity which stamped themselves on the political and social movements of India with which she was long associated.

The fields in which Sarojini Naidu worked were manifold yet it was the one field in which she was working and striving. Her country was her passion and her love. Even when she was writing poetry she felt in her heart the call to serve her country. In one of the fine poems in the Bird of Time struggling with ill-health she refuses the respite from suffering which death offers.

> I said, thy gentle pity shames mine ear,
> Oh Death am I so purposeless a thing,
> Shall my soul falter or my body fear
> Its poignant hour of bitter suffering,
> Or fail ere I achieve my destined deed
> Of song or service for my country's need?

This poem written before 1912 shows that long before Sarojini Naidu joined politics she was conscious of her double mission. If we want to truly understand Sarojini Naidu we can only do so if we

realise that poetry was the very essence of her nature, the very breath of her being. That is why she could introduce harmony and rhythm, grace and beauty into life, into politics. In her beautiful address as president of the Madras Political Conference in 1918 she gives an explanation why she, a poet, entred politics. "Therefore today in the hour of struggle, when in your hands it lies to win victory for India, I a weak woman have come out of my home. I a dreamer of dreams have come into the market place, and I say, Go forth comrades, to victory. When you are in despair I shall remind you of the dreams of your youth, when victory was the one reality. When you fail I shall tell you 'Be true to your visions.' When some terrible moment of temptation comes to be false to yourselves I shall say, Children of India the one destiny of India has always been, forsaking all else only to be true. For this kings have left their kingdoms, their thrones and had gone into deserts and mountain caves, for this Lord Buddha left the kingdom of his temporal glory to teach the law of compassion to human kind. It is for this the great seekers of truth have regarded all power and material glory as dust.

And Sarojini Naidu throughout her long political career did not for a moment waver or falter in the fulfilment of her mission.

What was the vision of India's destiny that led Sarojini Naidu through the sufferings which she so gladly embraced? In her address 'The Soul of India' she tells us:

"In the great Recension whose appointed hour draws near, when world power shall be revalued and world destinies refashioned, she stands an India strong and free and fearless with eyes that keep the aenonian wisdom and hands that hold the fourfold gifts of life ..... an equal comrade of mighty modern nations, and queen within her own inviolate lands, administering her own high laws, controlling her own wide wealth, imparting her own rich culture and defending her own vast frontiers. Her old ideas are born again in a myriad hearted multiform energy and shine afresh in the revival of her national learning, in the renewal of her national arts, in the restoration of her manifold secular and spiritual activities, in the virile and the splendid manhood of her sons, in the brave and radiant womanhood of her daughters, in the confederacy of surpassing love and service which is the united gift to her of every race of which she has been the refuge, of every faith of which she has been the sanctuary".

This speech delivered in 1917 was long before the turmoil of conflict had created the dust and smoke which has dimmed our vision

and unsettled our hearts with its varying battle cries, when the vision of India as the mother of our worship was still undisturbed, when the dream of Bankim, the sadhana of Aurobindo were still a beacon light to our political thinking, when Bengal, the Punjab, and Maharastra led India because their sons worshipped the Mother through the ultimate sacrifice, and mounted the gallows with a smile or sailed to the Andamans to live for a decade or a score of years making roads, or imprisoned in solitary cells so that under the cruelest torture they lost their lives or reason, or fled to distant lands from where they guided and helped the revolutionary movement for freedom. Reared and nurtured in the school of this revolutionary politics, in the cult of the worship of India, Sarojini Naidu when the next step forward was taken, with that more difficult call of the Sattic non-violent way of resistance, resistance without anger, resistance without retaliation, resistance which asked, not the individual, but the whole manhood, the whole womanhood of India to become cannon-fodder rather than yield up their ideal, quietly stepped beside her true political guru, stepped beside him, knowing the full difficulty of the way she had adopted. If it could have been said of the country, if it could have been said of all the followers of the Mahatma that they understood his ideals and allowed their lives and minds to be transformed by them as did Sarojini Naidu the country might have been spared the tragic phase of division and discord through which it is passing today. Because the negative side of the Gandhian way was understood, the mere outward abstention from violence and not the purification of the heart, because we misread the message of Khadi as a boycott movement or adopted Khaddar as a luxurious manifestation of our patriotism instead of taking it as a symbol of economic self-sufficiency, a means of identification with the masses, a flag of peace, the way of defeat to capitalism without violence, that India is today faced with the fear of mass revolution. Sufficiency of food and cloth are the basic needs of human life. It would be well for our statesmen to ask themselves if this will be possible either through capitalistic production or even through the nationalisation of industries in the present context, when we are faced with the moral problem of insatiable greed and lust for power. A mere upsetting of the governmental apple-cart is not going to effect a moral transformation and greed corruption, nepotism and black-marketting are not less likely to flourish in changed hands or under a changed system. It would therefore not be out of place for them to consider even now the

wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi's much boomed yet much neglected plan of a political and economic decentralisation.

How well Sarojini Naidu understood her Master's mind will be shown from the following passage, taken from a speech delivered in Madras in 1922, "We are then told that we are not to court imprisonment and rightly so far there are few among this vast audience, as there are few even among the leaders of Non-Co-operation, who have understood the full responsibility of the mandate. It has become something like a national cinema show to those courting arrest. Many dressed picturesquely said farewells theatrically, drove with all the consciousness of professional beauties and cinema stars playing gallant and saying, "Behold! I am a patriot. I am courting imprisonment." We want to annihilate from this moment every touch of hysteria, of excitements that bar our own enthusiasm, that have at bottom insincerity, which is the first thing we must abolish from our programme. What the Bardoli edict gives us is not merely this opportunity, but enjoins upon us as a duty, the abolishing of all those dangerous elements out of our movement. But the most important are two points:

The first is represented by the great Swadeshi movement which so few of our leaders have been able to appreciate or interpret to the masses they profess to lead. Many men and many women who have not the key, the magic key to Mahatma Gandhi's mind do believe that behind his wonderful simplicity and sincerity there must be some double motive that he is too worldly-wise to reveal. They believe that Swadeshi is a political expedient, some double edged weapon that you could hurl by the twisting of your arm and so destroy materially or politically some power that is inimical to you. That conception of Swadeshi is most erroneous, the most devastating and the most demoralising of all conceptions, for Mahatma Gandhi is incapable of initiating any beliefs that have for their life-blood hatred and destruction no matter how inimical the powers might be to us. But Swadeshi means feeding the poor. It means feeding all those millions and millions of starving men and women whose liberty whose lives you have brought away consciously or unconsciously for a mess of pottage and a hand's breadth of fine cloth that is nevertheless the sign-manual of your shame. . . . . Any case for Swaraj implied of necessity the fulfilment of these elementary needs. We seek an India where men and women shall be fit to clothe themselves before they seek political freedom and claim their right among the other nations of the world."

These words eloquently spoken should raise doubts in the minds of our leaders whether we are not still guilty of the same charge. We might well ask ourselves whether we are not selling the interests of our rural masses by drawing away the few pennies they have (in the name of encouraging the industrial development of India) by forcing them to buy mill-made cloth and other industrially manufactured goods. In the name of civilization we dangle before their unaccustomed eyes cheap luxury goods ugly and inartistic which is taking the bread out of the mouths of the village artisan and converting him into a day-labourer and factory-slave. Are not the mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad, the mills established in other parts of India, continuing the exploitation of the village areas, started by Lancashire and Birmingham: Wealth and man-power is being drawn away from the villages and is being concentrated in the towns, with their palaces and slums, is being concentrated in the hands of the few, raising jealousies and primitive passions which will lead us inevitably towards anarchy or revolution. But silent for ever is that prophetic voice which reminded India and the world of the high destiny of man, and warned us from following the path of destruction and annihilation. And now silent for ever is the voice of the bard of India who foremost in the field of the struggle for Indian emancipation had left her high tower of dreams, had come to the market place to warn us whenever we fell away from our ideals to be true to the destiny, the soul of India. And yet it is our belief that though retributive justice must overtake us for our sins of omission and commission, still these great souls, more powerfully dynamic because of their release from the body, will guide us in the path of our destiny.

A great part of Sarojini Naidu's work was in the field of social service. And now that the time has come for political workers to take up the task of social sevice or Lok Seva it would be well for us to dwell on the ideas of Sarojini Naidu on the subject, "Now because vast and varied as I say, are the needs of suffering humanity or the opportunites in the achievements of social service, I need not therefore say to you 'organise yourself as best you can and as best you should so that the demands within our own territories can be slain by the armies of our united service. But I say to you do not for one single instance arrogate to yourselves deeds of philanthropy. I have known some of the finest minds and spirits in Europe to offer the insult of philanthropy which they call social service, to suffering humanity regardless of the fact that we offer to them that insult

that is worse than death, for the rich have their riches, the beautiful have their beauty, the poets have their genius but the poor have only their pride. In offering social service to it in a spirit of humility which alone can make that service acceptable to the dying and the suffering, and which alone can make the poor accept from your hands the cup of water which brings them back to life. Friends, this is one point on which I want to lay special stress because in the course of my life I have often been obliged to work with those who finding the channel of service open, have worked indeed, have served indeed, and I ventured to be their comrade in that scene because I felt that charity was there though love there had become a machanical duty instead of being a spontaneous feeling that it should be. Some years ago when in a night the river floods came to my beautiful city of Hyderabad and thousands upon thousands were swept away I recognised with shame within myself that though death was upon them, service was upon them, the poor men stood side by side refusing help from the rich but sharing one another's poverty. They refused with scorn that kind of social service offered to them by those who felt that the suffering of those men and women was because they had no clothes upon their back, no bread to eat. They said "Take this money, take this food, give me your name, where do you live?" They did not say, "My sister, my daughter, what makes this dirt, what makes this filth? I am here to help you." Nobody said that. * * * It was organised philanthropy of men and women who gave of their abundance but they did not give out of that abundance which is within themselves which is love itself. * * * In whatever way, in whatever channel, in whatever opportunity it gives you to carry the torch to the dark houses, those prisons in which the poor and suffering dwell, take that torch with you, do not take charity but love. Do not take idleness but out of the abundance of the crowded hours in which you cannot spare a single moment create moments, create leisure. It is greater than filling the pages of history. Make service a part of your daily life, it is the enthusiastic dedication of yourself to the service of humanity which alone makes you a man."

These words of Sarojini Naidu may be set in the tablet of the heart of every social worker as his gospel. Love the seed-word of creation, love the dynamic mantra of all high deeds, without it can any service be? For all that passes as service is worthless if it is deprived of this inner urge. But from whence can we draw the inspiration for this loving service, who will make us the gift of love?

For love, true and enduring, love which can toil and suffer, can come from two sources. It can be the gift of Nature or of Divine Grace. It is Nature that teaches the mother to love and cherish her child and serve it without consciousness of self and it is when God's grace descends on our hearts that we learn to love and cherish our fellow men without distinguishing them from ourselves. But this grace can only descend when the heart is at peace with itself and the world. When the clamour of demands are on all sides, arising from our unfulfilled cravings, when each one wants, who is it who will give? And all that is left is that blaring patronising social service born under the aegis of official patronage still thriving under it and satisfied not because it has been the instrument of wiping the tears of the suffering, been the means of giving food to the hungry, cloth to the naked, or the light of knowledge to the ignorant, but because governors and ministers confer the smile of official favour on them. And it is not only social workers but public servants, who have been falsely dubbed as government servants, who must lay to heart the words of Sarojini Naidu and make of their official services fields for self-dedication in which love and fidelity to the people in whose services they are engaged should be the guide to their conduct, irrespective of the fact whether by so doing they may draw the frowns of favour of their superiors. They must discard as of yesterday's the badge of servility and adopt instead rectitude and honesty as the motto of their conduct. Then and then alone can that creative public service be born which can help India to rise from her slough of despond and feel the breath of true freedom.

Because we are human and so must feel the pang of separation our hearts are heavy at the loss of one who after Mahatma Gandhi was the most universally beloved of our leaders. Yet because we have faith in the immortal substance over which the veil of transience is spread, we believe that her spirit is there ready to answer our call, to re-live itself in every patriotic act of bravery in the country's cause, to imbue with power the hearts and hands of men and women who serve all those who are in need of service. We must think of her with joy, because one of her worth has lived amongst us, has loved and served us. Perhapes because we think in habitual terms we might erect a memorial for her, but the truest memorial to her would be the inscription of the words she spoke to us on our hearts, to live and serve as she lived and served, to be true to the highest ideals as she was. But for the sake of our children and the future genarations to be born I would request her gifted daughters Padmaja and Leilamani

to write a life of their mother that will be an inspiration to future generations, to collect her speeches from whatever contemporary records may still be available, so that generations to come may find in them an inspiration and a call to the nobler way of life, a call to love and service, as have that generation who have heard her in their youth, till they too feel as did Sarojini Naidu

"Two hands are we to serve thee O our mother,
To strive and succour to cherish and unite,
Two feet are we to cleave the waning darkness,
And gain the pathways of the dawning light.
One heart are we to love thee O my mother,
One undivided indivisible soul
Bound by one hope, one purpose, one devotion
Towards a great divinely destined goal.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR: SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSHAN

Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (PARIS)
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No apology need be made to introduce in these pages a short sketch of the life and activity of Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan who filled for three decades an important place in our academic life. He was untimely removed from our midst by the cruel hand of death more than a quarter of a century ago. But through his works he lives and continues to inspire us who came after him and are trying to follow in his footsteps. It should be stated here that the Vidyabhushan Memorial Committee will publish later a detailed biography of this great scholar and savant. Until, however, that appears, the present-day oriental scholars may turn to this sketch for information about Dr. Vidyabhushan's life and works.*

"Dr. Vidyabhushan, who hailed from Nabadwip,"† was born on the 30th July, 1870 (corresponding to the 15th Sraban, 1277 B S.). He belonged to a highly respectable Brahmin family.‡ At the

* The list of his writings given herein is by no means exhaustive, his writings being too numerous to collect and mostly scattered over various journals too arduous to trace

† Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Sanskrit Convocation Address, dated 12th March, 1915.

‡ "In this family (of Kamalakar Ray), one of the oldest in Nabadwip, were born celebrated pundits like Rajiblochan Vidyasagar, Umakanta Vidyanidhi, Pitambar Vidyabagish and others. Rajib used to teach Shastras in his big 'chatuspathi', which attracted pupils from the remotest corners of the country. His uncommon talents made some Rajas and Zemindars request him to accept the post of the chief pundit of their courts; but a man of independent spirit that he was, Rajib did not comply with their requests.

Umakanta, too, was well-versed in all the Shastras. His Zemindar was at law with another, and he was asked to side with the former; but aware of the former's fault he refused to do so; consequently he had to leave Nabadwip, and moved to the western part of Khalkula (lying on the border line of the districts of Nadia and Faridpur) at the request of one of his pupils hailing from that place. Conscious of his approaching death, Umakanta undertook a journey (by boat) to Benares and passed away at Manikarnika ghat in full senses.

His son Pitambar Vidyabagish (Satis Chandra's father) was extraordinarily versed in all the Shastras. All the pujas (daily and periodical), vratas, vriksha pratisthas (ceremony of planting trees) etc. were performed at his place with great eclat. He spent a lot on philanthropic acts. His Zemindar offered him a huge property, so that he might never be in want; but as he valued mental peace born of self-reliance, he did not accept the offer. His truthfulness commanded the respect of the indigo-planters; a chit from him would often make them realise their acts of high-handedness and would serve in checking them. After his death his sons (of whom Satis Chandra was an infant of four) returned to Nabadwip, the ancestral place of this distinguished family". (Taken from Babu Kumud Nath Mullick's 'Nadia Kahini').

Divisional Minor Examination he topped the list of successful candidates and won a scholarship. In 1888, he passed the Entrance Examination from the Nabadwip Hindu School in the first division and won a second-grade scholarship.

Bred up on the soil of Nabadwip (hallowed with the tradition of the University of Nadia,* famous as the highest seat of Sanskrit learning), he imbibed a taste for Sanskrit studies. In 1892, he graduated from the Krishnagar College with Honours in Sanskrit and was awarded 'Prasanna Kumar Sarbadhikari gold medal'. In 1893 he passed the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta,** where he studied Grammar, Smriti, the Vedas, Philosophy, etc. under eminent teachers like Pt. Shibnarayan Shiromani, MM. Chandrakanta Tarkalankar, MM. Gobinda Shastri, Principal Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna and others respectively.

He was then appointed a professor of Sanskrit in the Krishnagar College. He married the youngest daughter of Principal Gangadhar Acharyya ¶.

II

A born scholar, he scorned amusements his sole delight consisting in study. The course of studies up to M.A. was not enough to satisfy him inasmuch as the University§ furnished only an outline of the studies taught through texts selected from the standard Sanskrit works. He, therefore, proceeded with a comprehensive study of the standard Sanskrit works, studying Kalap, Alankara (rhetoric), Kabya, Naya, etc. under famous professors of Nabadwip, such as MM. Ajitnath Nyayaratna and others. His proficiency in these subjects was apparent from the fact that he won laurels at the Sanskrit debate held at the Krishnagar Palace under the presidency of Swami Jagatguru Sankaracharyya of Sarada-math, Dwarka.

* *Vide* his paper on 'The University of Nadia'.

** "He was seriously ill while appearing at the M.A. Examination, and somehow took the examination lying on sick-bed". (Jadunath Chakravarti in 'Manasi-O-Marmabani').

¶ "Gangadhar Acharyya of Krishnagar (born on the 1st October, 1830, in the family of Lambodar Pathak) passed the Senior Scholarship Examination, and was a renowned Scholar in English. He was a pioneer in the field of higher education in Bengal, having no small hand in the foundation of the Midnapore College. In fact, he was the first Principal of this College (from 1873 to 1884), and devoted his best energies to its steady growth. One of his pupils, Principal Nilkantha Mazumdar of the Presidency College, Calcutta, has paid an eloquent tribute to his sterling qualities and benevolent disposition. He devoted his earning mostly to charity; and at the time of his death (in 1885) created an endowment, the income of which (according to his wishes) has been, and is still being, given to the poor and the needy without any distinction of caste or creed". (Taken from 'Sambandha-Nirnaya' of Pt Lalmohan Vidyanidhi of Santipur).

§ *Vide* his article, 'Studies of Sanskrit in the University' (Suhrit, 1894).

He then sat for the Sanskrit Examination held (in 1893) by the Bibudha-Janani-Sabha, Nabadwip; he passed the examination in the first division and obtained the title of 'Vidyabhushan' (ornament of learning).

Even such study could not quench the thirst for learning of one who was destined to play an important role in the world of oriental learning. He pursued his studies, mastering all the Sanskrit works available in this country; and acquired an up-to-date knowledge of the critiques written thereon.

In his eagerness to be thorough he went into the study of alphabets* which drew him to the study of Philology†. Gradually, he took up the study of other subjects.

His critical study unfolded his latent power of original thinking; and his writings§ bore the impress of originality. His mind was busy

* *Vide* his contributions on :—

1. Revolution of Alphabets.
2. History of Alphabets (Bharati, 1908).
3. On Indian Alphabets (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1904).
4. Bengali Alphabets (Bharati, 1901),
5. Introduction of alphabet into Tibet.
6. Letter 'Ksa' (Bharati, 1901).

† He wrote on 'Grimm's Phonetic Law of Indo-European languages' (enlarged form of essay read in 1905 at the Calcutta University Institute meeting presided over by Principal M. Prothero).

§ Some of his writings relating to Sanskrit works :—

1. Bhababhuti and his drama (1899) :

(*a*) "A learned essay", says Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, "in which the author has succeeded in compiling all the salient facts relating to Bhababhuti, throwing a flood of new light and clearing many abstruse questions".

(*b*) Amrita Bazar Patrika;" To be welcomed by all. Criticism made in the light of modern researches."

(*c*) Principal Nilmani Mookerjee of Sanskrit College;" Highly interesting. Informations and critical acumen deserving of great praise, and must, I dare say, meet with the approbation of all".

(*d*) Principal Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya of Ripon College : "Will repay study."

(*e*) Professor Nrisinha Mookerjee of Presidency College : "Happy that your critique is a capital performance. Your book would prove a great boon to all. I would very much like to see an English translation of your book for the benefit of European Scholars"—Yours V. sincerely.

(*f*) Rai Jatindra N. Chaudhuri M.A., B.L. "প্রবন্ধ লেখক অতি সংক্ষেপে অথচ সুন্দর ভাবে ভবভূতির আবির্ভাব-কাল নিরূপণ করিয়াছেন।"

(*g*) Raja Benoykrishna Deb Bahadur : "প্রবন্ধটি নানা গবেষণা-পূর্ণ হইয়াছে।"

(*h*) Chandicharan Banerjee, a member of the Sahitya Parishad : "এই প্রবন্ধ শ্রবণ করিয়া বুঝিলাম বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র 'কপালকুণ্ডলা' এই নাম ও তাঁহার চিত্র ভবভূতির 'মালতী-মাধব' হইতে গ্রহণ করিয়াছেন।

(*i*) Mahendra N. Vidyanidhi, another member of the Sahitya Parished :" "নানা-বিষয়ে গবেষণা করিয়াছেন। প্রবন্ধটি উৎকৃষ্ট হইয়াছে। উহা পরিষৎ-পত্রিকায় মুদ্রিত হওয়া উচিত।"

also with the gaps which he had occasionally come across in the subjects of his study and with the interpolations intended to fill up some of these gaps. He thought that these gaps were due to the disappearance of some works in these subjects. He felt an earnest desire to unfathom the possibilities of recovering these lost works, so that it might be possible to have a connected account of the whole of those subjects.

He hoped to ascertain the whereabouts of these missing works by carefully investigating into the history of the periods of the gaps. He studied the Indian history from various sources*. Where history was silent, he took the help of Epigraphy and Archæology† which had illuminated many a dark chapter of the past of India. Such investigation supplied to him not only the names of the lost works still existing in this country but also good grounds to suppose that there had been other works not surviving here in name even.

His quest for the lost works was carried on the aforesaid lines. He began with a search for the lost works supposed to be still existing in this country. He closely searched the rare Sanskrit works (books, reports, manuscripts, etc.) procured from all the parts of India. Thus he recovered some lost works. But, for the cost works the trace of which could not be found in this way he turned to literatures produced (during the periods of the gaps) in other oriental languages (Indian and non-Indian) indicated by his investigation, he hoped to discover a version of the lost works in one or more of these languages. The same hope inspired him in his search for the lost works supposed to be existing in the countries with which India had friendly intercourse

2. Bhatti-Kabyam (Vols. I and II) : Edited by Prof. Vidyabhushan and Nrisinhachandra Vidyaratna.

3. Ratnavali (Bharati, 1903).

4. Do. (Journal of Mahabodhi Society, 1903).

5. Notes on Ratnavali. with English and Bengali translation (1903).

6. Date of Ratnavali (Mahabodhi and United Buddhist World, 1903, September and October, p. 45).

7. Age of Kalidasa (from Tibetan sources, in Mahabodi Journal.

8. The birth place of Kalidas (Presidential address at Sahitya Sammelan held at Calcutta).

9. The birth-place of the great poet Kalidasa and the place of his death (Presidential address at Sahitya Sammelan held at Bhagalpur).

10. Age of poet Magha (Indian Mirror, 1902).

11. Milk-drinking swan of Sanskrit poetry (Bharati 1902),

*As a result of such study, he wrote a short, as well as a detailed, history of India.

† His knowledge of these subjects enabled him to decipher many an inscription in India as well as in Ceylon (*e.g.* inscriptions on Mihintale hill), and won for him an honoured place among the antiquarians.

during the periods of the gaps. For effective search he even visited those countries.

Thus, Professor Vidyabhushan devoted himself to the widening of the store of Sanskritic knowledge through original thinking and researches§ in the different fields of oriental learning.

III

His achievements in these fields were highly valuable. But it is not possible to deal with all these fields properly in this short biography. We propose herein to deal a little elaborately with his activities only in the subject towards which he was specially attracted. It was Nyaya (Indian Logic), which, as we learn from his paper on 'Logic in the University of Nadia' (1907), had been the most favourite study in Bengal since the establishment of the University of Nadia, *i.e.* from the sixteenth century onwards.

Towards the end of the last century, Nabadwip (the stronghold of Nyaya Philosophy) had in Pandit Jadunath Sarbabhouma its recognised authority. While preparing for the Sanskrit Examination held by Bibudha-Janani-Sabha, Professor Acharyya had studied the subject under him and had acquired a strong grounding in it. The critical mind of Professor Vidyabhushan led him to a comparative study of all the systems of Philosophy†, This was followed by his study of all the available Sanskrit works on Nyaya.

He found two schools of Indian Logic, *viz.*, Ancient (the first regular work on which was Nyayasutra) and Modern (the *most foundational* work on which was Tattva-Cintāmaṇī, written by the Brahmin logician Gangeśa Upadhyaya).

The gist of his study of these schools is to be found in his paper, called 'Nyaya-darśhan written in English and a book

§ He was a Fellow of the Indian Research Society (F.I.R.S.).

† See his writings on :—

1 History of Sankhya Philosophy (1902), written in Journal of Mahabodhi Society, New India, and Sahitya-Samhita ১৩০৯ বঙ্গাব্দ

2. History and Doctrine of Sankhya Philosophy.

3. An Apology of Advaitabad or Vedanta Philosophy (Indian Mirror, 1897). About this. Sir U. Monier Williams wrote to him :— The 4-11-1898.

"I have been very much interested in your view of the derivation of the Vedanta Philosophy. It is well worthy of attention; and I trust you will proceed to treat the subject at full length, as you tell me you think of doing. Believe me to be sincerely yours".

On 27th January, 1899 he wrote a similar letter to Prof. Vidyabhushan.

named 'Atmatattva Prakaśa' (Hindu Nyaya Philosophy) written in Bengali (in 1897). In the latter, he discussed (with reasonings, arguments and proofs) subjects like:—History of the systems of Indian Philosophy; the existence of the soul; the nature of the soul-jivetma; its migration upwards and downwards, previous birth, salvation, world happiness, pain, fate, God, refutation of the opinion of the atheists, etc.—all according to Nyaya Philosophy. This Bengali book was translated into Hindi by Jvaladatta Sarma.

The medieval period (of Indian history) seemed to have hardly witnessed any (new) activity in the field of Logic. His ardent desire was to fill up the gap in the subject of Indian Logic by finding out the logical works (if any) produced during this period. Such works (if found out), he thought, would be termed Medieval Logic, which would serve as the link between the Ancient and the Modern schools and make the subject of Indian Logic a connected whole.

His search through history revealed to him the fact that during the medieval period, while Brahminic writers on Logic continued to follow the old system, Jain and Buddhist writers produced treatises on Logic in a new style. The only Brahminic writer who imbibed the Jain and the Buddhist influence was Bhasarvajna, the author of Nyayasara—the only work extant on Brahminic Logic of the Middle Ages. He read the manuscript of Nyayasara taken from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta; and studied No. III F. 305 and 321 (both belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member†. He went also through Nyaya-tatparya-dipika (commentary, by Jamasingha Suri), belonging to Yasovijaya Pathsala, and procured also from Bombay through Sadhu Muri Dharmavijaya Suri of Benares and his pupil Indravijaya. On these Mss. he based his Nyayasara, edited by him in 1910 in the Biblotheca Indica series with an introduction written by him in English.

IV

Medieval Logic being found to be in the hands of the Jains and the Buddhists, he decided to tap fully the Jain and the Buddhist sources of writing. As regards Jainology, he was the first worker,

† Later, he became a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (F.A.S.B.), a member of its Executive Committee, its Secretary and its Joint-Philological Secretary and also the Secretary of the Biblotheca Indica Series (a collection of oriental works published by the Society). He was also a member (later, editor) of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and wrote on the 'Foundations of the Building for the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' in 1903. He was a member of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad also.

and rendered yeoman's services for the revival of academic interest in Jain Philosophy. The materials of Jain Logic he strenuously derived from a vast mass of rare Sanskrit works (books, reports, manuscripts, etc.) printed in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc. and procured also from Azimganj and other places. Prof. Peterson's reports of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in Bombay Circle mentioned many Mss. of Jain Sanskrit works, all of which he went through for collection of his materials.

The Mss. of the earliest work on (Pure) Logic of the Svetambar Jains, called Nyayavatara Vivriti, was procured for him from a private library in Bhavnagar, Bombay, by Vijayadharma Suri and Indravijaya the former sending to him manuscripts of Ratnakara-*Vyāvatarikā* by Kshapanaka of Vikramaditya's Court. The result was 'Nyayavatara', edited with translation, notes and commentary by Prof. Vidyabhushan in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Journal of Buddhist Text Society, Prof. Vidyabhushan identifying Siddhasena Divakara with Kshapanaka†. His 'Nyayavatara' (1908) was intended to be included as a volume of the 'library of Jain literature' in the publication of Sacred Books of Jain Society, Arrah. The Government of Bengal forwarded its advance proof to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen in August, 1908; it was accepted by that learned body as a contribution to Jain philosophical literature. Due to his mastery over Svetambara Jaina literature, he was selected as the President of the All-India Svetambra Jaina Conference (held at Jodhpur) in 1914 (১৯শে ফাল্গুন ১৩২০), where the title of 'Sastra-Sudhakar' was conferred on him,

A Ms. of Astasati and Pariksha-mukha-sutra (Digambar Jain work on Logic by Manikya Nandi, with commentary by Anantavirya) was supplied to him by Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur, Rajputana, early in 1907; also several rare Mss. were procured from Western India and the Deccan. On these two kinds of Mss. and Jain Mss. of Asiatic Society of Bengal was based Prof. Vidyabhushan's 'Parikshamukha-sutram', published in the Biblotheca Indica series in 1909. Due to his mastery over Digambar Jain literature, he was elected as the first President of the All-India Dighambara Jaina Conference (held at Benares) in 1913, where he was taken in a chariot drawn by four elephants and honoured with the title of 'Siddhanta-Mahodadhi'. Prof. Hermann Jacobi was present at this conference.

†"Prof. S. C. Vidyabhushan mentions that Siddhasena Divakara was identical with well-known Kshapanaka. This view perfectly recommends itself to me."—Rai Saratchandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E.

Prof. Vidyabhushan went on "publishing Jain works on Logic in Bibliotheca Indica—one of which, composed in the 8th century, was edited by him".†. He wrote numerous original articles on Jain Logic, *viz.*, "Jain Logic under Gunaratma Suri', etc. He thus steadily collected full materials on Jain Logic and gave a most elaborate account of the same in a series of articles embodied in a work. Dr. Hermann Jacobi wrote to him as follows:—

"*Bonn, 21st October, 1907.*

Niebuhrstrasse 59.

Dear Sir,

I heartily congratulate you on the work you have done. It will prove very useful; for you have brought together a mass of information which is not of easy access to many. I shall be glad to see your whole work. Our logicians as a rule know nothing about what has been done in this branch of Philosophy by Indian thinkers. I shall, therefore, feel obliged if you can spare me a copy of your work.

With kind regards,
I am,
Yours sincerely,

. . . . . ."

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

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Few measures of the British Government in India have aroused greater controversy than the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal effected by Lord Cornwallis by Regulation I of 1793. James Mill in his "History of British India" condemned it as the outcome of the aristocratical prejudice of Cornwallis and Holmes has characterised it as a "sad blunder."(1) Mr. R. C. Dutt, on the other hand, held that it was the wisest and most successful measure which the British nation has ever adopted in India.(2) The Government of Bengal appointed in 1938 a Land Revenue Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud to examine the complicated land problems of Bengal and to suggest remedies for their solution. Since the Permanent Settlement is the crux of the land revenue problem of Bengal it has naturally come in for a good deal of discussion and criticism and the majority Report of the Commission has virtually advocated its abolition. The Report which was published a few months ago is now under the consideration of the Government. In view of the importance of the question a brief survey of the circumstaces and conditions under which the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis was introduced may have more than a passing interest for the student of history.

It is essential to remember at the very outset that so far as the tenure of land is concerned Bengal has from the earliest times developed on her own peculiar lines. The most important feature of the system in Bengal, as Baden-Powell pointed out, was the existence of the tenure of great landlords.(3) The peculiarity of the land system in Bengal as distinguished from the rest of India is noticeable even in pre-Muhammedan days for the records of the Sena Kings bear remarkable testimony to the assessment of land revenue in cash in terms of the coins of the time, such as *Kapardaka*, as distinguished from

(1) Holmes, History of the Indian Mutiny, p. 12.
(2) Dutt—Economic History of British India, p. 95.
(3) Baden-Powell, Land System in British India, p. 177.

the assessment and payment in kind prevalent in other parts of Northern India. (4) Further, it is a historical fact that the Muhammedan conquest of Lower Bengal was never completely accomplished and there were many princes in Bengal who were the tributaries rather than the subjects of the Muslim conquerors.

The private property right in the soil in ancient Bengal culminated ultimately in the Zemindari rights, and the germs of landlordism in Bengal even during the days of the *Palas* are to be found in the reference in the Pala records to the "gramapatis", the "kshetrapati" and the "dasagramika," etc.

The indigenous Hindu land system was in fact taken over by the Muslim rulers and was "accepted by the people as traditional." (5) The principal of assessment which was based on sharing of the produce by the State also remained practically the same. But since the sharing was by estimate and in as much as the estimate varied due to natural causes, there was inevitable fluctuation of land revenue. To overcome the uncertainty due to such fluctuation Sher Shah based the state demand on measurement of the average yield of land and the fixity of demand thus introduced may be regarded as the first adoption of the principle of Permanent Settlement.

The system of Sher Shah was adopted by Akbar as the basis of his own comprehensive scheme. He, however, encouraged payment in cash rather than payment in kind. It is no part of our work to describe in detail the land revenue system of Akbar and of his great minister Todar Mall. Suffice it to say that the land revenue system of Akbar as it was introduced in Northern India which was based on assessment by measurement and was in principle "*ryotwaree*" (raitwar) in its nature. (6) was not applied all over Bengal. Contemporary authorities, as Mr. Moreland has pointed out, (7) lend no support to the legend which was current at the end of the 18th century that Todar Mall made a detailed assessment on the individual peasants of outlying provinces like Bengal. In most of these provinces large areas were left in the hands af the indigenous intermediaries, Ruling Chiefs like those of Vishnupur, Dinajpur, etc. and Farmers, Assignees and village headmen. The *nasaq* system in which revenue was fixed by arrangment or contract and which thus resembled the Zemindary rather than the *raitwari* system was adopted in Bengal

(4) Dr. U. N. Ghoshal—The Agrarian System in Ancient India, p. 72.
(5) Moreland, Cambridge History of India, IV, 449.
(6) Oldham—Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District, Part 1, p. 82.
(7) Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 461.

and was continued by Akbar's successors. The annual or temporary Settlements that were made with the village chiefs or headmen made the intermediaries rather unpopular and the system was at the breaking point at the time of Aurangzeb till it was ultimately revived and strengthened by the Permanent Settlement. At the beginning of the British rule in Bengal the bulk of the land was in fact held by a relatively small number of land holders or Zemindars who enjoyed practical freedom in their relation with the peasants and paid to the State dues which were in fact adjustable at its discretion but by methods which are not known to have been practised elsewhere in India. (8).

The decline and fall of the Mogul Empire naturally brought about immense changes in the history of Bengal and a new factor was introduced by the rise of the British power. The first advent of the English in North Eastern India was through Orissa. By 1676 by the licences granted by the Bengal Governor Shah Shuja and Shaista Khan the East India Company established factories at Hughli, Kassimbazar, Balasore as also at Patna and Dacca. In 1681 the factories and affairs in Bengal were declared to be a separate administration independent of the control of Madras. But the experiment was short-lived. A local insurrection in1696 led Nawab Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bengal to permit the Europeans to fortify themselves in their factories, and two years later the Company obtained the permission to purchase the Talukdari rights over the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govindpur under the Mogul Revenue laws at an annual rental of Rs. 1,195-6 from Prince Azim-us-Shan, the Governor of Bengal, who accepted Rs. 16000/- as present. Though the permission was rather costly, the Zemindary right of ownership of the properties was purchased from their owner for the nominal sum of Rs. 1300/-(9). The aquisition of Zemindary thus begun was steadily continued by the British and the grant of 822 square miles to the East India Company by Mir Jafar made the Company Zamindars of what is known as the 24 Parganas. This was followed by the acquisition of the same rights in Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong in 1760. The English thus got a secure footing in the country from which they could not be dislodged. The nature of the hold of the English in the territories around Calcutta

8 Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 473.
9 A. K. Ray—A Short History of Calcutta, pp. 22-23.
P. C. Bagchi—Calcutta Past and Present, p. 11.

is evident from the fact that even after the re-capture of Calcutta by the Company by armed force in 1757, the Company deliberately abstained from holding the town on terms of military conquest but sought instead and obtained Sanad from the Nawab for the acquisition of Zemindary rights over certain territories. Neither Plassey nor Buxer, it has been said, was fought to win territorial sovereignty by the East India Company, but their real object was to secure a ruler who would really be powerless to overthrow the factories esablished by the British. But at the same time it must be admitted that the English by the prowess of their sword were steadily destroying the military supremacy of the Muslim power in Bengal, while each step of their advancement was followed by the acquisition of revenue over fresh territories for the maintenance of their own military power. This is evident from the terms of the treaty entered into by the English with Siraj-ud-daula in February 1757; with Mir Jafar in July, 1757; with Mir Kasim in September 1760; with Mir Jafar in July, 1763 and with Nazm-ud-daula in 1765.

The year 1765 constitutes a landmark in the history of Bengal and of India for it was in this year that Clive entered into an agreement with Emperor Shah Alam by which the Nawab of Bengal was divested of his powers as Dewan and the office was in turn conferred on the East India Compony. The fateful years from 1757 to 1765 had indeed witnessed changes in which politics and civil administration were interwoven so closely that it is difficult to distinguish between the two. The uncertainty and irregularity that inevitably characterised the payment of revenue due from Bengal to the Emperor at this time led the Mogul Emperor to propose in 1758 the transfer of Dewani to the Company. The offer was repeated by Emperor Shah Alam in 1761 and again in 1763. At last in August, 1765 Clive on the advice of Raja Daulat Ram, father of Maharaja Raj Ballav, asked for and obtained from the Emperor a *sanad* of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar & Orissa in favour of the East India Company, on payment of the annual sum of 26 lakhs of rupees. The effect of the grant of the Diwani to the Company led to the separation of the two offices of Nizamat and Diwani which were held together by the Nawabs of Bengal since the time of Murshid Quli Khan and the creation of the so-called "dual government of Clive" whose consequences proved disastrous both to the rulers and the ruled.

The Company at the time of the assumption of the *Diwani*, was not entirely new to the work of collection of revenue in Bengal

because of the experience it had to its credit due to the administration of territories granted to it from 1698. But in 1765 it had to undertake the entire revenue administration and absolute financial control of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and it had no other alternative but to accept the indigenous agency for its work of collection which up to 1773 was entirety in the hands of Muhammad Reza Khan who was appointed Naib Dewan or Deputy Finance Minister. This period of revenue administration, which has been characterised by Ascoli as the 'period of hesitation',[10] ultimately created in the mind of the Company suspicion regarding the honesty of the native Collectors, and the Company began to think of the necessity and methods of assuming direct administration of revenue, and in anticipation of the trend of change of opinion Verelst, who had succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal and President of the Council, posted English revenue officials called *Supervisors* to superintend local collections in important districts, but the 'Supervisor scheme' did not prove successful as the indigenous revenue agents and officers like Zemindars and Kanangos would not help them by revealing the sources and secrets of their living.

During the Governorship of John Cartier (1769-72) who succeeded Verelst Bengal was visited by the great famine which swept away, according to Warren Hastings, 'at least one-third of the inhabitants of the Province,' and it was widely believed, though difficult to prove, that the famine was due to unscrupulous commercial transactions of the Company's servants.

In 1772 the Court of Directors, alarmed at the prospect of losing their dividends resolved on a fundamentel reform. They "determined to stand forth publicly themselves in the character of Diwan and to take on themselves the entire management of revenue through the agency of their own servants." Warren Hastings was appointed Governor "with full powers to make a complete reformation." The comment of Hastings on the condition of the country at the time of his assumption of office is worth quoting. "Notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province and the consquent decrease of the cultivation, the nett collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768." The exactions of the Collectors of revenue and the consquent ruin of the country could not be better testified.

[10] Ascoli—Early Revenue History of Bengal, p. 30.

Warren Hastings as Governor and President of the Committee of Revenue was suddenly called upon to administer the revenue of a country which for half a century was in a state of disorder. The Company under his guidance tried to follow in the footsteps of Murshid Quli Khan by farming out revenue to the highest bidder, though in his Quinquennial Settlement of 1772-1777 "a greater portion of the country was actually farmed to the Zemindars themselves in preference to other persons," because he did not consider it equitable to alter the consitution by any sudden change and deprive the Zemindars of their ancient privileges, and whenever a Zemindar was dispossessed he was allowed a percentage of revenue for the subsistence of himself and of his family.

But the first attempt of the Company to manage the revenue by means of revenue farmers and English Collectors did not prove suceessful, because many of the tenders which had been accepted from speculative revenue farmers proved to be beyond the amount that could be extracted from the cultivators. Hastings himself admits in his Minute on the Proceedings of the Council[11] that "the lands were let in general too high, and to find out the real value of the lands the most probable method was to let them to the highest bidder", and that the lands in general were overrated. Hastings' works, said Burke, had the nett effect of "destroying all rights of private property of the Zemindars" and of transferring by a most arbitrary and unjust act of power the whole landed property of Bengal from the owners to strangers[12].

The proceedings of the Board of Revenue from 1773 to 1776 give a picture of heavy deficits, defaulting Zemindars, absconding farmers and deserting ryots. Suggestions were pouring in from the different parts of the country to adopt measures for the recovery of the country from acute economic distress. Middleton[13] writing from Murshidabad suggested universal remission of a suitable amount of revenue and future Settlement to be made with the Zemindars. *P. M. Decres*,[14] chief of the Calcutta Committee, strongly recommended permanent Settlement with the Zemindars so as to "fix the rent in perpetuity and trust to a sale of their property as security for the payments." G. Hurst of the Patna Council, G. Vansittart of Burdwan and G. C. Ducarel of Purnea and other distinguished local officers also expressed

[11] Governor-General's Proceedings, March, 8, 1775.
[12] Burke's Works, Vol. VII p. 109.
[13] Governor-General's Proceedings, April, 7, 1775.
[14] Idem.

the same view. These officials may accordingly be regarded as the first advocates af Permanent Settlement.

The results of the Quinquennial Settlement of Hastings having proved more and more deplorable each year, the Governor-General formally invited on March 21, 1775, the opinion of individual members of the Council on the subject of Settlement and collection of revenue. On April 22, Hastings and Barwell submtited a joint plan in which they pratically adopted the principle of a permanent Settlement by recommending leases for life or two joint lives with preference for Zemindars and further providing that when a Zemindar does not farm his own Zemindary he should be entitled to an allowance of ten per cent. of the revenue settled by the Government. This plan was opposed by Francis who recommended a settlement in perpetuity with the Zemindars.[15]

In the controversy that followed Francis charged Hastings with a motive "to annihilate that rank of men in whom the inheritance and property of the lands of Bengal are vested." The controversy brought into prominence the question of the ownership of the land. While Hastings and Barwell assumed that the Sovereign possessed the land, Francis and men of his school held with equal pertinacity that the Zemindar was the real owner. The writings of Francis were ultimately destined to influence the final revenue policy as settled by Pitt's India Act of 1784. As James Mill has observed, "Francis' plan of finance was adopted with blind enthusiasm, with a sort of mechanical and irresistible impulse."[16] Francis accordingly may be regarded as the originator of Permanent Settlement.

The Quinquennial Settlement having aroused a good deal of hardship and criticism on the eve of the expiry of the Settlement circular letters were issued, at the suggestion of Hastings,[17] to Collectors of districts in order to ascertain the estimated land revenue that might be expected from each district. In November, 1776, the Governor-General appointed a Commission[18] known as the *Amini Commission* to tour throughout Bengal and procure materials for the approaching settlement. The Report of the Commission is a most valuable document in the early revenue history of Bengal. Meanwhile the Directors, tired of further investigations and in the face of conflict-

15 Governor-General's Proceedings, 17th and 31st May, 1776.
16 Mill—History of British India, Vol. V, p. 332.
17 Governor-General's Proceedings, August, 1776.
18 Idem. November 1, 1776.

ing evidence, decided to mark time and send orders on December, 23, 1778 for land revenue to be settled annually with farmers until 1781 with preference to the old Zemindars even though not the highest bidders.[19]

The policy of short term settlements was foredoomed to failure, but it brought into prominence the question of hereditary and proprietory rights of the Zemiders which were alleged to be ignored. A definite line of policy was ultimately laid down by Pitt's India Act of 1784 which ordered an enquiry into the complaints of the dispossessed Zeminders and directed the Company to take steps for "settling and establishing upon principles of moderation and justice according to the laws and constitution of India the permanent rules by which their *respective* tributes, rents and services shall be in future rendered and paid to the Company by the Rajahs, Zeminders, Polygers, Talookdars and other native land-holders".

Before the details of the Act could reach India Warren Hastings resigned his office in February, 1785. His successor John Macpherson on the advice of Shore introduced a new scheme by which the provinces were divided into 35 districts and the Collector of each district was to make the settlement under the supervision of a Central Committee to be called the Board of Revenue.

In September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis landed in Calcutta as Governor-General and had brought with him a lengthy letter dated 12th April, 1786, of 89 paragaphs, containing instructions from the Court of Directors deprecating 'disposition to innovation and experiment' and recommending a Permanent Settlement of a reasonable and fair revenue to be the best, for the payment of which the hereditary tenure of the possessor is to be the only necessary security." The Directors, however, 'recommended that initially the settlement should be concluded for a period of ten years as the 'idea of some definite term would be more pleasing than a dubious perpetuity.' It is accordingly clear that the idea of a permanent arrangement of revenues was no product of any pre-conception of Lord Cornwallis in favour of land lord system in England and that it had taken shape before Cornwallis appeared upon the scene.

The Court of Directors was under the impression that the investigations made subsequent to 1765 would furnish sufficient basis for new settlement, but Lord Cornwallis soon realized that such data were not actually available and called for further investigation on the

[19] Hunter, Bengal Manuscript Records, Vol. I, p. 19.

basis of the scheme proposed by Shore. Meanwhile it was decided that for the years 1787 and 1788 the Collectors while helping the Governor-General in the investigations he had in view should make only annual settlements of the revenue. At the close of 1789 and beginning of 1790 regulations were issued for the Decennial Settlements of Bihar and Bengal respectively.

These regulations were, however, preceded by much discussion and controversy in which James Grant, Sir John Shore and Lord Cornwallis were the principal figures. The original controvery between Grant and Shore cleared the ideas of the Settlement considerabley. Grant's views were expressed in three Documents, *viz.*, (1) "Political Survey of Northern Circars" published in December, 1784, and forming Appendix XIII of the Fifth Report, (2) Analysis of the Finances of Bengal issued in April, 1786, and (3) the Historical and comparative view of the Revenues of Bengal published in 1788. Grant in his first work tried to show that the Zemindar was merely a temporary official and that the right of property vested absolutely in the State. In his later two treatises Grant by reference to the development and collection of revenue from the time of Akbar sought to prove that Bengal was greatly underassessed. Sir John Shore was opposed to the views of Grant in more respects than one. His reply to Grant was given in his monumental Minute of June 1789[20] in which he refuted Grant not only in his exposition of the position and status of Zeminders, but also maintained that the assessment of land revenue was as high as it could be under the circumstances. "Rents belong to the Sovereign, the lands to the Zeminder", was the contention of Shore. Grant was of opinion that the amount of revenue was limited only by the productivity of the land and concluded that this limit had never been approached since the assumption of the Dewani by the Company. He accordingly recommended that the basis taken should the assessment of 1765[25] but at the same time he pointed out the necessity of further investigation before the settlement was made. Shore on the other hand proposed as a basis the collection by Zeminders and farmers in recent years.[22]

The rival views, however, influenced materially the question of the amount and duration of the Settlement. Cornwallis from the beginning was disposed more favourably to Shore than to Grant.

[20] Fifth Report, pp. 169-238.
[21] Ascoli—Early Revenue History of Bengal, p. 52.
[22] Fifth Report, p. 182, Para 124.

While therefore Cornwallis favoured a Settlement with the Zeminders[23] as recommended by Shore, he urged upon Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, against the advice of Shore who advocated a settlement for a period of ten years and was opposed to permanence without a survey,[24] that the existing Settlement should be made permanent. "The recommendations of Cornwallis were ultimately accepted by Pitt and Dundas and the Regulations of February 10, 1790 for the Decennial Settlement which declared the Zeminders or land-holders to be actual and hereditary proprietors were fixed in perpetuity on March 22, 1793.

In favouring the Permanent Settlement with landlords Lord Cornwallis was actuated not merely by economic but also by poiitical considerations. Lord Cornwallis in his Minute pointed out, "In case of foreign invasion, it is a matter of the last importance * * * that the proprietors of the land should be attached to us from motives of self-interest. A landholder who is secured in quiet enjoyment of a profitable estate could have no motive for wishing for a change."

It may also be pointed out that the Permanent Settlement was considered to be the best source of a certain revenue which was very much needed by the company at this time to build up the British dominion in other parts of India.

[23] Fifth Report, pp. 185-9, paras 154-98.
[24] Fifth Report, pp. 233-38.

INDIA AND ITS LANGUAGE

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Among those who have fought long for freedom, the tendency to be in the opposition is necessarily more conspicuous than their readiness to understand other points of view and their desire to build and create. As a result we notice more discontent today than at any time before. Besides, with the advent of freedom, all groups of people who had formerly combined to fight foreign imperialism, are now emphasising their special interests and asserting their conflicting rights. No wonder that India whose cultural unity is patent to all appears disintegrated today. It is swarming with claims of racial and cultural separateness. The spokesmen of the South appear to suffer from no delicacy or compunction when they wax eloquent in disowning their affiliations to the cultural and literary heritage of the North. The East feels little hesitation in swearing by its own traditions and intellectual achievements as distinct from those of the middle or of the West. For the moment they seem to forget that all their attainments—be they from the South, from the East, or from the North—can be and should be traced to one common source.

It is accepted on all hands that if India is going to retain its freedom, it must stand as one unit; and the national solidarity presupposes the most willing and voluntary co-operation on the part of the various components. This co-operation cannot be forced. It is to come from within. Its only basis can be mutual understanding and confidence. It will also presuppose broad outlook. The solution of the problem of a national language is in this regard an acid test for us all.

The champions of English who want to retain it as our national language should be reminded of the length of time and the magnitude of energy they had to spend in learning English language and that with rather doubtful perfection. Do they sincerely believe that any large body of people can afford to devote so much of their time, energy, and other resources to this end? One can, of course, understand the difficulty of the English-knowing people. At a fairly advanced stage to learn a new language may be unwelcome. But they should know that English will not be replaced in a day. All

the planning for a new national language is intended to affect the next generation. A seed sown to-day will bear fruit only after some time.

Often cries are heard from one or another section demanding the recognition of more than one Indian language as national languages. They refer to different foreign countries in which more than one language has natural status. For instance, very often Russia is mentioned to have eighteen different languages as recognised state languages. Facts are not exactly as they are stated. There are undoubtedly there more than twenty-three rich and robust languages and the government does every thing to foster and develop them. But Russian language is compulsory in every part of the Soviet Union. The second country is Switzerland, where three languages are given the status of state-languages. But let it not be forgotten that Switzerland is firstly a very small piece of land, having the population of not even four million of people living in three different component groups. India is however a sub-continent having a population of more than eighty times that of Switzerland. It has at least ten important languages out of which six are of the North and four of the South. Linguistically the six North Indian languages evolving from the same source enjoy considerable similarity and affinity. The Southern languages, though they belong to a Non-Aryan group, have also many things in common with the Northern languages. At most authoritative calculations the figures stand thus :

Hindi	...	13 crores 80 lakhs (excluding Pahari and allied dialects).
Tamil	...	2 crores.
Telegu	...	2 crores 60 lakhs.
Kannarese	...	1 crore 10 lakhs.
Malayalam	...	90 lakhs.
Bengali	...	2 crores 40 lakhs. (after partition).
Marathi	...	2 crores 10 lakhs.
Gujrati	...	1 crore 10 lakhs.
Oriya	...	1 crore 12 lakhs.
Assamese	...	20 lakhs.

Note.—About 3 crores speak minor dialects of hill tribes and aborigines, and the rest speak foreign languages.

The British rule is no more over India, but, some of its injurious legacies are still clinging to our national character. One of the

most effective weapons in the armoury of the British was the policy of 'divide and rule'. Among the protagonists of the Multi-lingual demand too, this practice of 'divide and rule' seems to be very common; but they forget in their zeal that their weapon has long lost its efficacy and has become cheap. With all their force they declare India to be a land of three hundred and twenty-six 'languages'. In support they always quote some antiquated and out-of-date Western authority. It is a pity that they do not know the difference between a language and its dialects. Perhaps their Western Masters did not tell them that every language worth its name has many dialects in its fold. Because, the term language as such connotes only the federation of several dialects bearing the common thought currents, the view of life, the stock of words and phrases, their frequent usages, and even grammatical basic symmetry, with slight local differences and phonetic variances: and such a federation of similar dialects is called a language. At a particular period every language chooses one of its dialects for its literary expression, endows it with the requisite culture, enriches it with a variety of stock of words—foreign and native—and shapes it in robust and graceful style. The mass of literature in all its varieties looks up to this cultured form of the language for expression. But, it does not mean that literature ceases to find expression in dialects other than this. As evidence shows folk-dialect has been, since time immemorial, a very suitable vehicle for human emotions. The prettiest of songs and ballads have been sung in homely dialects, but that is their limit. In serious literature such dialects have not any principal part to play. Futile efforts have been made, and unnecessary wastage of paper and ink has been incurred in trying to stress the variety of Hindi language dividing it into Eastern, Western and Southern Hindi.

If India has to be a true secular state drawing its strength from the vast multitude of its inhabitants, its outlook and behaviour shall have to be truly democratic. This necessarily means the recognition and fulfilment of the will and desire of its people. With the figures quoted above before us and the patent fact that the Northern Indian languages have been traditionally enjoying the closest cultural, idiological and linguistic affinities, it should not need much argument to anticipate what would be the popular will and desire of the Indian people in the matter of choosing their national language.

It is most amusing sometimes to see people unnecessarily digressing into the field of literature while discussing the problem of national language. Seldom do they make a secret of the fact that they know

practically nothing about any literature in any other Indian language than their own, perhaps much less about Hindi literature old or new, and yet they do not fail in asserting that there is nothing of value in other literatures than the literature of their own language. It is astounding indeed to find even responsible men talking so recklessly.

Politically India is going to be a Republican State, but also India is an ancient land of culture and learning. It needs a common language to-day not merely for political administration, but also for the country-wide revival of its widely strewn cultural heritage, its perpetuation and propagation and also to add to it the new knowledge of the age. In ancient times our many-sided needs were fulfilled by our most sacred language, Sanskrit. To-day again we need a similar common linguistic affiliation and that is possible only through a national language.

To suggest the adoption of our sacred language, Sanskrit, as the lingua-franca of to-day is only to by-pass the stern reality and shelve an important national problem.

In the name of internationalism to swear by English, or under the screen of preservation of "Provincial Culture" and "rights of minorities" to stigmatize the claims of Hindi as "Linguistic Imperialism" or "Linguistic Fascism" is nothing but a ridiculous indulgence in cheap sloganism. A strong nation is built only on the strong shoulders of its nationals who do not suffer from pettiness of outlook or undesirable selfish squibblings. It is high time that people of this sacred land recognise and discriminate between the tin gods and the gods of reality.

Round the World

Second Chamber in the Fourth Republic

The Senate was one of the basic factors of the constitutional system of the Third Republic. Lineal descendant of the nominated Senate of the 2nd Empire and the Chamber of Peers of still earlier days, it was given an element of seventy-five life members under the Constitution of 1875. Nine years later, however, this arrangement was done away with. Those of the life Senators who were still then living were allowed to continue till they would die, but otherwise the Senate was made wholly an elective body. Election was indirect and so arranged as to give dominant influence to the small towns. Big towns where advanced political views were more entertained continued throughout to be grossly under-represented. Consequently, as intended by the makers of the Constitution, the Senate became in the Third Republic a conservative body and kept in check the more radical and boisterous Chamber of Deputies. The conservative character of the Senate was further enhanced by the fact that the minimum age of its members had been fixed at forty and actually the average age was calculated after the first World War to be sixty-three. A house consisting of old men was not expected to go in for adventure and was in fact expected to throw cold water on the exuberance of the more youthful Chamber. Actually it delayed by ten to fifteen years the passing of all measures which it deemed to be radical in character. The pensions for railway men were for example held up for thirteen years. For several decades it was doubtful if the Senate had co-equal right with the Chamber to oust a Government by the withdrawal of confidence. But as early as 1896 it forced the resignation of the Ministry of M. Bourgeois and in 1913 and 1925 it repeated such exercise of power and Briand in the first instance and M. Herriot in the second were ousted from authority. From 1930 onwards it was not merely in practice but in theory and principle as well it was admitted that a vote of censure by the Senate would count as much as the vote of censure by the Chamber regarding the future of a Ministry. It is significant to remember in this connection that popular Front Ministries of Leon Blum were on two occasions overthrown because of adverse voting in the Senate.

When the war of liberation was over in 1945, the question arose as to what steps were to be taken regarding the system of governance of France. One suggestion was that the Third Republic was to continue and its Constitution might remain the fundamental law, with modifications if required. But the country by an overwhelming vote decided in favour of a new

Constitution for what was called the Fourth Republic. The Third Republic and its Constitution were associated with military defeat and the humiliation of German occupation. The stain of such humiliation could be removed only by scrapping the old system and beginning things anew. The first Constituent Assembly which was elected by the sovereign people was inspired by the old revolutionary tradition and pinned its faith accordingly to a unicameral legislature. Popular sovereignty would be shackled and become meaningless if the popular assembly was to be checked by an upper house, however constituted. It was true that the M.R.P. (Movement Republican Populaire) members fought for the establishment of a second chamber. But the Socialist and Communist members agreed only to a body called the Council of the French Union, which would be purely advisory and would have no effective powers. When the draft, as decided upon by the left-wing majority, was referred to the people for ratification, the majority of them became frightened. Even many of those who had voted on socialist ticket before became alarmed lest a unicameral sovereign legislature should become a stepping stone to Communist dictatorship. The result was that the draft was rejected by a vote of fifty-three per cent. A second constitutional plan was now worked out. In this Vincent Auriol and George Bidault played a very important and prominent part.

This draft which became constitutional law of the Fourth Republic provided for a second legislative chamber with diluted powers. The name Senate was dropped so as to avoid the impression that the old Constitution was being revived. The new upper house was given the name of Council of the Republic, and the lower house was called the National Assembly, so that people might think that it was the repository of sovereign authority. The Council of the Republic consists of 315 members as against 314 of the old Senate. Procedure of election is complicated. Forty-two of the members are returned by proportional representation by the National Assembly and two hundred are elected by the Departments, voting being indirect. The remaining members represent Algerian and other overseas territories and departments.

Ministers are not to be responsible to the Council. As for other powers, they also are not as great as those exercised by the Senate. It will join with the Assembly in electing the President of the Republic and in revising the Constitution. But in respect of legislation, it is definitely inferior in status. A recent writer observes: "It was to vote on laws sent up to it from the Assembly within two months. If the Assembly in discussing a law had voted for emergency procedure, the Council was to discuss under the same limitations of time, and in the case of the budget its time for consideration was to be no longer than taken by the Assembly. If the time allocated were allowed to pass without a vote, the bill was to be promulgated without further reference to the Council. The Assembly

was free to accept or reject its amendments, with the sole condition that if the Council of the Republic had voted on the bill by roll-call and by an absolute majority, the Assembly was to vote under the same conditions. Propositions of laws initiated in the Council were to be transferred without debate to the Assembly, and if they involved a reduction of revenue or new expenditure could not be received."

The Council of the Republic is in no way comparable to the Senate. But the significance of its existence as a second chamber need not be minimised.

Anglo-Russian Relations

That foreign policy is determined more by geography than by political ideology was emphasised sometime ago by a writer in the *Russian Review*. It does not mean of course that ideology has no part to play in regulating relations between one country and another. But sometimes ideology is over emphasised. This should be corrected and the importance of geographical influence should be given its rightful place. The writer observes:

"The Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet regime dose not appreciably change the fundamental lines of the Anglo-Russian policy pattern. Not only do the traditional areas of rivalry—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and the Far East,—reassert themselves once more, but the economic and psychological factors, though at times inverted, tend to repeat themselves. The antagonism of British liberal thought against Tsarism, and the haughty sense of righteousness which coloured anti-Russian propaganda in England, now finds the same scope in virulent attacks against Communism. Paradoxically, this hostility, particularly in the 1920's, does not seem to interfere with economic relations, reminding us of Lloyd George's cynical remark, "One can trade with Cannibals." This profit motive led to the recognition of the Soviet regime by the Labour Government in 1924, but the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries was to pursue a stormy career, affecting the very existence of Ramsay MacDonald's government in the famous Zinoviev letter incident, followed in 1927 by a breach of relations. During the nineteenth century we observe the paradoxical situation of the liberal governments getting along better with the Tsarist Government because the Tories, by stressing British colonial imperialism, stimulated the rivalry with Russia. So do the conservative governments in England seem to get along better than the Socialists with Soviet Russia. This seems to indicate that political ideologies merely screen the deep-rooted motives of mutual distrust based on the interplay of balance of power between the two great nations."

Politician in Eclipse

A few months ago a writer (C.M. Woodhouse) contributed a paper under the above title to the *Nineteenth Century and After*. It was an interesting paper and its thesis is that the consummation of the policy which the Labour Party is pursuing will culminate not only in its own elimination but in the elimination of the politician as a factor of governance in Britain. The writer observes:

"...any genuinely progressive movemen, such as English Socialism unquestionably is, destroys itself *paripassu* with the achievement of its progressive ideals. It never notices this at the time; indeed, it often imagines that by fastening the noose round its neck it is giving itself a new lease of life. This was the experience of the Liberal party, for instance, when it passed the Reform Bill of 1832, and again when it carried out its social reforms in the parliament of 1906. On both occasions the Liberal Party tacitly assumed that it was recruiting and perpetuating its own strength, first by creating a wider electorate naturally sympathetic to itself, and then by consolidating that natural sympathy on practical grounds of expediency. But what it was really doing, on the contrary, was first to provide the necessary conditions for the Labour Party to come into being, and then to do half the Labour Party's work for it in advance: in other words, to commit suicide. It is interesting to foresee how easily the Labour Party may do the same thing if its success becomes complete". Actually once socialisation in England is complete, "a General Election will not involve changes of policy, because there will be no room for policy to change ; it will only mean changes among the commissars responsible for administering policy. If anything at all is then settled at a General Election, it will not be that Policy A is preferable to Policy B, but that Commissar A is better than Commissar B at carrying out *The Policy*.....No politician nowadays includes the status of the G.P.O. in his electoral platform ; quite soon no one will include the status of the N.C.B. (National Coal Board) either. Similarly, in fifty years time there will probably be no more talk about restoring the medical profession to private enterprise than there is now about restoring the army to private enterprise." This way when all issues which new divide parties at general elections become non-controversial, there will be no scope for politicians. They will be eclipsed.

Vice-Presidency in U.S.A.

When a man occupies a high post without much to do, he is dubbed Vice-President of the United States of America. This office is in fact one of the most impotent ever created by the wit of man. Some of the members of the Philadelphia Convention had serious doubts if the office had any utility and should be created at all. Most, however, felt that it was necessary "to establish a constitutional heir for the President, to.

facilitate the selection of 'continental characters' under the original electoral system, and to provide for the Senate a presiding officer not immediately devoted to the interests of any particular state". So the decision was taken for the creation of the Vice-Presidency. At first men of the first rank also allowed themselves to be chosen in this capacity. But their experiences were so unhappy that gradually second or even third rate politicians alone became eager candidates for the office. John Adams who was Vice-President under Washington once pathetically observed: "My country has in its wisdom contrived for me the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived". Actually the Vice President only presides over the deliberations of the Senate. In this capacity also he can exert no influence and has little power. Some Presidents have of course tried from time to time to harness the Vice-President to some useful work. Some called him to their Cabinet meetings. But the experiment was never successful and could not harden into a tradition. The result is that the second office has been reduced to a second-rate office with only mediocre men to fill it. There is danger in that. The Vice-President may not be anything while the President remains in office but if he is out of it by resignation or death, the Vice-President steps into his shoes and a third-rate may become the dejure and defacto head of the state. John Adams who has been quoted already had something to say in this regard as well. He said: "I am possessed of two separate powers, the one *in esse* and the other *in posse*. I am Vice-President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything". So if the rule of having "accidental Presidents" is to be maintained and if they are to be found in the Vice-President, the office of the latter must be made more respectable so that abler and more ambitious men may seek the post and so that when these Vice-Presidents become President by chance, they may do justice to their new responsibilities and powers. How is this problem to be solved? Many suggestions have so far been made in this regard. But none are without objections. The Vice-President for instance may be given charge of an important department *e.g.*, State Department and may be included in the Cabinet. This will make the Vice-President an important figure. His office will become powerful and it will attract men of first-rate ability and great ambition. But suppose the President and the Vice-President do not agree and they proceed in opposite directions. In that case the President will not be able to get rid of his colleague. Both will draw their mandate from the people. In such situation the work will suffer and administration may even be dislocated. There are other suggestions which will meet with similar objections. But any how the Vice-Presidency cannot remain as it is. It has to be reformed. The people of the United States are thinking about it.

Linguistic Tangle

Without a satisfactory solution of the language controversy that is going on at present, the future of the Indian Union may become gloomy. There are now more than a dozen major languages spoken in the country. Any effort to eliminate them and replace them by a common Indian language will be both unwise and futile. But a national language has all the same to be found or built up. To day English is superimposed upon the provincial languages. It is the medium of inter-provincial communication, of instruction in the institutions of higher learning, and of work in the courts and Government offices. Part of the function now being performed by English may of course be handed over to the different provincial or regional languages. But much of it can be taken over only by the national language to be selected. There are, of course, many who are definite on this that there is no necessity of ousting English at all from the position it happens to hold. The local languages should, of course, take up some of its existing functions but as the medium of inter-provincial or inter-governmental communication it may without any discredit to us continue for all time. It may be pointed out in rejoinder that English is a difficult language to learn. Inspite of great efforts so widely made, very few have made it their own. In the future it is not to be expected that such great efforts will be made by people to learn it and consequently still fewer people will master it. But it should be remembered that few people only will be interested in inter-provincial or inter-governmental communication. Consequently if few only learn English that will not affect its position as the federal language. The second argument against the continuance of English is that to adopt it as practically our national language will be derogatory to our honour and prestige as an independent nation. Only some Indian language can be given that position. Dispassionately speaking, there is not much in this objection. So long as there was the continuance of the fight against British imperialism we did not say it but it is a fact that linguistically speaking at least India is still only a geographical expression. To the people of one province or region the language spoken in another is as alien as English or French. Consequently, no regional language can be better favoured than English by the people of other regions. On the other hand English has the advantage of being neutral—an advantage not possessed by any Indian language. To those living in Northern India this statement may appear unorthodox. It is their language which is proposed to be the national language. Consequently it is natural that they will minimise the strength and importance of objection which is raised to the proposal elsewhere. But suppose, Tamil is proposed today to be the only national language of India. What will then be the attitude of the people of upper India ? They will possibly turn down the suggestion as fantastic. But there is nothing fantastic about it. It is as much one of the important

languages of India as Hindi happens to be. Consequently, if Hindi may be proposed to be a national language, there is no reason why Tamil also may not aspire to the position. It may be that the number of people speaking Hindi is larger than the number speaking Tamil. But there is no doubt about it that those who speak Tamil are also an important part of India's population. So it may be repeated that the idea of having Tamil as a national language is not fantastic at all. The proposal is only unfamiliar. Slight propaganda on its behalf may make it familiar. The people of Upper India who today see no reason why people elsewhere should oppose the enthronement of Hindi as the national language, will understand the reason of such opposition when they are face to face with the proposal of Tamil to be the national language. There are in fact many groups of people who do not understand Hindi in any form or shape. There are many other groups who may not of course be so helpless in regard to this language. They may somehow understand it and after some efforts may even be in a position to speak it. But there is no gainsaying the fact that Hindi will be to them only an acquired language. Consequently they cannot acquire as much proficiency in it as those whose mother tongue it happens to be. Consequently in whichever fields the use of the national language will be essential, they will suffer in comparison with the latter. In view of this many people happen to argue that the national language shuld be that language, Indian or foreign, in regard to which all groups of people have the same advantage or disadvantage. No group should be in a better position in this respect than the rest. Hindi, Hindustani, or Urdu is not such a language. Its choice as the national language will give undue advantage to the people of Upper India. In fact although it has not yet been chosen as the national language, many Hindi-speaking people in Upper India seem already to look upon themselves as the chosen people. A spirit of aggressiveness has already overtaken their mind. In the recent debate in the Bihar Lagislative Assembly on the question of the medium of instruction in the district of Manbhum there was manifestation of this ugly spirit. In view of it, it seems that the question of choosing a national language should be shelved for at least twenty years and during this period English should retain the position it has held for over hundred years.

Dr. Mookerjee's Suggestion

In this connection we welcome the suggestion which Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee has made as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammilani recently held at New Delhi. He has pointed out that practically all the provincial languages are affiliated to the Sanskrit language and consequently there is much in every language and literature which is common to them all. But the scripts are different and that is the main reason why to a man belonging to one province or region

the literatures and languages developed in other parts of the country, remain so unfamiliar and even so foreign. They are a sealed book to him. If possibly a common script may somehow be made current, the existing linguistic differences may considerably be minimised. The people speaking one language may have an opportunity of reading books written in other provincial languages. Dr. Mookerjee has not suggested the elimination at once of the provincial scripts. But Devanagri script may be adopted at once everywhere as an alternative script. He has also suggested that books by well known authors in such provinces as Bengal may be published in this script. That will give an opportunity to the people of other provinces to read thess works in their original. This way some kind of rapprochement may be made between the different languages and possibly in course of time some common language may spontaneously develop. So attention need not be paid at once to the choice of any Indian language as the national language. That place may continue to be occupied by English. But attention should be paid to the adoption of a common script for the different provincial languages. To make it more clear Devanagri should be adopted at once as an alternative script for all provinces but Hindi should remain for the time being at least only a regional language such as Bengali or Tamil happens to be.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Bi-Kelās, in Bengali.—By Sri Atindranath Basu. D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Vaisakh, 1355 B.S., pp. 159. Price Rs. 3 (Three) only.

This purports to be a story of the inner thoughts produced by objective impression on a sensitive mind. The author had been incarcerated and stayed in prison from August, 1942 to 1946. The experience was not novel for him, and he briefly touches on his earlier stay at Buxa and his internment in a West Bengal village, but the record of this period (1942-46) takes into account the pathos, the futile struggle, the greatness of little things and the smallness of great things, in the life about him. Mannu, Sunil, Erphan, Ataur, Sabu—who will have the presumption to judge any of them? If only society had understood them! But was it possible for any society to have done so? "What man has made of man" seems yet to be an eternal cry—and requires constant watch.

The author, however, does not take his stand on any philosophical dogma or critical theory; he has observed life at close quarters and from many angles. The poignant history of a gaol-bird's life which lies folded in the epithet—*Bi-kelās*—"B" class—is well presented, though it may have overshadowed the rest of the narrative. The prison atmosphere has been vividly portrayed, displaying in its setting the temporary burial of the unfortunate souls, the waifs and strays of suffering humanity. The snatches of songs—political, social or religious—have been beautifully reproduced, and they would reveal the potentialities of folk literature. The prose style is exquisitely suitable, and does ample justice to the many picturesque inmates and incidents of the prison-house described in the book.

In all countries and at all times, prison experiences have supplied materials for many remarkable books, but the book under review is a contribution to the literature of Bengal, and it should have a wide appeal.

P. R. Sen

Life of Swami Dayananda Saraswati.—By Hari Bilas Sarda. Published by P. Bhagwan Swarup, at Vedic Jantralaya, Ajmere. To be had from Vedic Pustakalaya, Kaisarganj, Ajmere. Price Rs. 12. 21s.

Swami Dayananda, a contemporary of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, who wanted to popularise Vedic doctrines to uproot Brahminical orthodoxy which had entrenched itself strongly for centuries and disintegrated our national and social solidarity, preached that no man-made book, however old, is to be accepted as authoritative and that only the Vedas contain the true revelation. He condemned various non-vedic faiths, false in their

set up and dogmatic in their application, intended to satisfy the needs of one particular community. As a man of great learning and possessing true insight into the falsity of all man-made religions, Swami Dayananda exposed the hollowness of all popular religious dogmas which create human misery. To achieve the end in view, he taught that salvation is the result of a righteous life and that mukti is the result of Jnan. As a sincere iconoclast, he could not tolerate any form of fetishism or idolatry.

As religion cannot be divorced from daily life, Swami Dayananda preached a new religion suitable for the new world and very helpful to fallen state then in existence. It is he who for the first time, at least in India, preached the dignity of labour. It is he again who laid so much importance on social work and strongly emphasised the need for the uplift of the masses.

Sri Har Bilas Sarda has done very great service to his countrymen by publishing an authoritative biography of Swami Dayananda who stood as a beacon light in the last century in the midst of political frustration and national degradation.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

A Critical Study of Some Aspects of Public Administration in Bengal.— By Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University. Printed and published by Dinabandhu Ganguli, B.A. at the Calcutta University Press. Price Re. 1-4.

If the British Government in India, during the critical period 1940-44, felt the inefficiency of the system of Public Administration, the truth of it has never been so persistent and naked as in these days in the all-India set-up.

This brochure, in its illustrative chapters, contains all the latest theories on Public Administration which have to be translated into action in a democracy and therefore the need of a book like this cannot be over-emphasised. To-day, everybody is thinking how to have a body of civil servants with a broad patriotic outlook, willing and able to stand always by the side of the people to slove their difficulties and to advise them at the time of crises. The old English section of the system looked after the interests of their own countrymen and thought that their responsibility was located in his Majesty the King in Parliament. Their counter-part, the Indian civilians, with some exceptions, lived in splendid isolation considering themselves a separate class and had no sympathy with the masses. As such they were utterly worthless as popular administrators. Men in the provincial service who expected promotion not on merit but through servile submissiveness and nepotism, danced attendance upon their bosses and so efficiency was thrown to the winds. Thus the time honoured steel frame fell to the ground when the need for its services became very pressing and urgent.

Professor Naresh Chandra Roy will do a great service to the country, if he brings out a supplementary volume containing his suggestions on the Public Administration of India as a whole. The new race of civilians should be ever wakeful to public needs and alive to public criticism.

J. N. MITTRA.

Public Finance and Our Poverty.—By J. C. Kumarappa. Published from the Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This book is mainly a reprint of articles by Prof. Kumarappa published in Young India in the twenties. Notable additions in later editions are a chapter on "Public Debts" introduced in 1931 and another on "sterling credits" in the latest edition. After certain general remarks the author draws a vivid contrast between India at the beginning of the 19th century and India in the 20th century. India in the 19th century is represented, on the basis of not very scientific evidence, as a very prosperous country, while India in our century is described, rightly enough, as a country with pitiful poverty. It is pointed out that India's deepening poverty is due neither to increase in population nor certainly to inadequate natural resources ; it is due to an "artificial environment" composed of many factors of which Public Finance, as practised in India, is one. The succeeding chapters examine how far this particular factor, Public Finance, can be held responsible for the growing poverty of India. The study of 'Public Expenditures' is first taken up, and attention is drawn, as usual, to the extraordinarily heavy expenditure on account of military and Civil Administration and to the remarkable disregard for all "nation-building" activities. In surveying the sources of revenue, criticism has been brought against the manner in which the different sources are being tapped. Thus, for example salt-tax has been decried as unsound, while greater reliance on customs has been enthusiastically advocated. The policy of virtual free-trade forced on India has been bitterly criticised, and the policy of the government with regard to Railways and Currency and Exchange has also been adversely commented upon as being calculated to damage trade and industry in India. It has rightly been pointed out in conclusion that India can move in the right direction only when in the field of economic policy "the choice of alternatives is determined by the needs of India."

AMLAN DATTA

History of Western Philosophy.—By Bertrand Russell. George Allen And Unwin Ltd. 21s. net.

There are quite a large number of books on History of Western Philosophy. The book under review, though a history of philosophy, is written from an altogether new point of view. Philosophy is after all a

social phenomenon, and its development is linked to historical development in general. Usually, however, an account of the development of philosophy is attempted in abstraction from the social *Milieu*. Bertrand Russell does not proceed along the beaten track; he, on the contrary, considers at length the socio-political conditions of the Western countries, that made for the development of philosophical theories there. This new approach would indeed help the students of History of Philosophy a good deal to understand clearly the chain of ideas that stretches through the centuries.

But it seems that in some contexts Russell's job is overdone. He often gives us an elaborate account of the socio-political background of a philosophical theory, but very little about the theory. Sometimes again his own peculiar philosophical ideas come to interfere with his description and prevent proper assessment of some schools of philosophy. For instance, Russell attaches importance to Neo-platonism, because Neo-platonism, as he tells us, is beautiful. He does not take Kantian and Hegelian theories very seriously as he thinks the theories are rather untrue. Thus Russell's personal bias has too often intervened and marred his whole noble project.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the book is written in a luminously lucid style and makes interesting reading. The sections dealing with Greek and Mediaeval philosophy are the best parts of the book. Students of philosophy will do well to go through the volume once. Repeated reading of it would repay them considerably.

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS

Ourselves

Dr. Kalidas Nag Honoured

At a pleasant function held in the premises of Alliance Franchaise, Miss. C. Bossenec and Dr. Kalidas Nag were awarded the Palmes Academiques by the Consul-General of France at Calcutta. We congratulate Dr. Kalidas Nag on the honour conferred upon him.

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History of Hindu Chemistry

The late Professor Sir Prafullachandra Ray put in a good deal of labour in collecting materials for a history of Hindu Chemistry and embodied them in a book which has become well known and which has enabled many people to get acquainted with an important aspect of the cultural achievements of the ancient Hindus. The Indian Chemical Society has now undertaken to bring out a more comprehensive volume on History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India. It will incorporate the work of Sir Prafullachandra as also the other new materials now available. We are glad to learn that the Government of West Bengal has made a contribution of Rs. 5000 towards the preparation of this volume. We understand that the Society will approach the Government of India as well for a grant. We wish the Society all luck in this regard.

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Place of English in Indian Education

Mr. Mathai, Secretary to the Inter-University Board, delivered an interesting lecture in the Darbhanga Library Hall on the above subject. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, presided.

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Khaitan Lecture

Mr. D. C. Driver delivered the Khaitan Lecture, the Vice-Chancellor presiding. The lecture attracted a large audience.

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Exhibition in Psychological Laboratory

An exhibition of instruments was organised recently by the Department of Psychology in its Laboratory. It was opened by the Vice-Chancellor and created a good deal of interest.

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W. B. C. U. T. A. Meeting

Members of the West Bengal College and University Teachers Association held in Calcutta in April their annual meeting. The Vice-Chancellor opened the meeting with a short and appropriate address. Mr. S. P. Mukherji, Principal, Asutosh College, Calcutta, presided. The meeting continued for three days. The members deliberated upon many educational problems and adopted several resolutions. Conditions of service of the teachers were an important item in this discussion. It is time that all efforts are made towards improving these conditions so that teachers may become more contented and may devote their attention better to their normal duties.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTIFICATION No. C/5323/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under section 22, read with sub-section (3), section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order, that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 the Central Calcutta College (previously Islamia College, Calcutta) shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard and in Bengali (Pass and Honours) to the B.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subject from 1949 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 21st February, 1949.

SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
Registrar.

NOTICE

The undermentioned candidate is admitted to the degree of Doctor of Literature. The title of the thesis submitted by him and approved by the Board of Examiners is also stated below.

Kshitischandra Chattopadhyay

Title of the thesis—Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar

Senate House,
The 20th February, 1949.

A. P. Dasgupta,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

NOTICE

The undermentioned candidates whose theses were commended by the Boards of Examiners and who were admitted to the examination for the D. Phil. degree (Science), having passed at the *Viva Voce* examination are admitted to the D. Phil. degree. The title of the thesis of each candidate is stated against his name.

1. Baidyanath Ghosh, M. Sc. — "Studies on Vitamin C"
2. Susilkumar Basu, M. Sc. — "Studies on the metabolism of aspergillus miger"
3. Arunkumar Chattopadhyay, M. Sc. — "Physico-chemical studies on a purified inhibitor of the Cytochrome Oxidase system isolated from cobra venom"

Senate House,
The 18th February, 1949.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, W.C.1.

HMB/JC/696 *18th March, 1949.*

The Director begs to forward the enclosed announcement with his compliments, and would be greatly obliged if you would give it such publicity as may be possible.

Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer in HINDI for three years from 1st October 1949 (the first year being on probation), with the possibility of extension for a further one or two years. Candidates should possess a good Honours Degree with special qualifications in Hindi. Initial salary will be within the limits of £525 and £700 per annum with marriage allowance of 12½% of salary.

Applications must be made to the Secretary by 31st May, 1949.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
JUNE, 1949

BEN JONSON AND MILTON

P. R. SEN, M.A.
Department of English, Calcutta University

It would be considered an act of iconoclasm, and many would think it a sacrilege, to trace any "source" or "original" of Milton at this time of the day. Great men are original in spite of their numerous borrowings; what they receive they make their own. But the matter of tracing links or connections or influences is always food for interesting speculation. Remarkable parallels are to be found in Ben Jonson and Milton, however incongruous the idea seems at first to link jovial Ben to precisian Milton. But it is [illegible] years since Milton's character has been conceived in a new light.[1] In place of the idea of the English poet as the high priest of puritanism who stumbles on poetry only in order to justify the ways of God to man, critics are trying to present him to the public as a reniassance thinker and artist, as more a poet than a puritian, more connected with the quest of beauty than of theoretical truth. In consequence of this new orientation, his early poems have been coming in for renewed attention; they have to be studied between the lines, in order to illumine a personality, who would interpret everything in the world according to his personal experiences, who would generalise from

[1] Denis Saurat—Milton (1924), p. 342.

his individual reactions to things, would take the whole world into confidence as soon as his newly married wife quarrelled with him or his rival in literary reputation wrote him a rejoinder in respect of his defence of regicide. Tradition has been insisting on the association of the Paradise Lost and its poet as inseparable but now we have the oscillation of the pendulum of the critical faculty at the other end, with the attempt to identify him more and more with his earlier poems.

In discussing these early poems it is better to set out with a *tabula rasa* or clean slate; critics have tried to make the thought of the poet sacrosanct and refused to believe in or to work out any original. Let us recognise with them that Milton's thought is essentially original.[1] Raleigh, in his critical study on Milton, practically ridiculed the idea. He said: "Perhaps he took the subject of *Comus* from the *Old Wives' Tale* of George Peele; and when he set himself to write a masque he was doubtless well acquainted with the words of the chief master in that kind, Ben Jonson William Godwin, in his *Lives of Edward and John Phillips*, expresses the opinion that Milton studied the works of Jonson more assiduously than those of any other Elizabethan. The specific evidence that he cites—a few passages of possible reminiscences—is not convincing. He has no more striking coincidence to show than the resemblance between a phase in Il Penseroso:

Come, but keep thy wonted state

and two lines of Jonson's *Hymn to Cynthia*:

Seated in thy silver chamber
State in wonted manner keep.

If the original genius of poet is to be sworn away at this rate, there will soon come a time, when no man is secure. Both words are common in Elizabethan English; if their recurrence in a single line is to warrant a charge of plagiarism, the next step will be to make them Jonson's property, and to forbid the use of either to all but the tribe of Ben.[2]

In spite of the above tirade, it may be allowed to point out Milton's affinity with Ben Jonson both in thought and expression; both loved nature and beauty, both had an independence of outlook rare to find in the men of their generation, or for that matter in all

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 247-248.
[2] Raleigh's *Life of Milton*.

generations, fresh as they were in the time in which they were born; both were later in their career involved in difficulties. But while the earlier poet was sceptical about the precisian, the later poet developed into one. This difference may be accounted for by the time factor intervening between the two; and the two poets display singularly the same taste in certain years of their poetic activity, so much so that it is unavoidable to compare them; such a comparison is attempted here specially with a view to finding out any ways in which Ben Jonson might have influenced Milton.

Ben Jonson himself had been always fond of good living and of having a good laugh no matter at whom; his laughs at the hypocritical Puritan are numerous and scattered through his plays. At first view there seems to be no period in Milton's life when he shared such ideas and felt like Ben. But there is a pleasant tradition recorded; it is said that Milton commended the *Bartholomew Fair* for its satire and ranked it with *Volpone* and the *Alchemist*.[1] *L'Allegro*, composed when no discordant sounds jarred on the soul of the poet and patriot, deserves to be scrutinised from this point of view. Then it happens that Milton the writer of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, Milton the poet of *Comus*, seems to have been an apt pupil at the hands of Ben. Ben ridiculed the Puritans in his plays and specially the *Alchemist* and the *Bartholomew Fair*, gave them names Tribulation and Zeal-of-the-land-Busy, showed up their hypocrisy, presented their greed and sophistry, but all the same he had a moralist's vein and is not the satirist, after all, a moralist in thir disguise? Proceeding thus, we may be permitted to observe that Ben Jonson and Milton were not after all so very dissimilar in their mentality—across the space of a third of a century that intervened between the two—as might appear at the first view: they were both moralists and passionately fond of beauty in nature and humanity, endowed with a rich fund of imagination.

The similarity of taste is to be found in many ways—selection of topics, general character of prosody, peculiar use of words and phrases, images and allusions, sometimes whole lines. Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, composed in 1629, and Ben Jonson's Hymne on the Nativity of my Saviour included in his *Under-woods* (a posthumous publication printed in London, in 1640), both dwell upon

[1] Palmer, *Ben Jonson*, p. 100.

"The Sonne of God, th' Eternall King
That did us all salvation bring ;

in Milton,

'Wherein the Son of Heaven's eternal king, . . .
Our great redemption from above did bring'

seems to be an echo of reminiscence. 'Elysian bowers' in Ben Jonson's masque, *the Golden Age returns*, and 'Elysian flowers' in L'Allegro ; 'profaner eye' in the same masque and 'where no profaner eye may look' in Il Penseroso (l. 140), are possibly similar reminiscences of study. 'The Vision of Delight' presented in 1617 contains five lines which are noteworthy because their echo is found both in L'Allegro and Il Penseroso. Thus, in Jonson's poem,

Break, phant'sie, from thy cave of Cloud
And spread thy purple wings ;
Now all thy figures are allowed,
And various shapes of things ;
Create of airy forms a stream
And though it be a waking dream . . . .

With the second line of the above we may compare

Where brooding Darkness spreads his jealous wings
(L'Allegro, l. 6)

and generally the last three lines with

And let some strange mysterious dream
Wave at his wings, the airy stream
Of lively portraiture displayed,
Softly on my eyelids laid
(Il Penseroso, ll. 147-150)

Again, in this same *Vision of Delight* we find

In curious knots and mazes so,
The spring at first was taught to go ;
And zephyr when he came to woo
His Flora, had their motions too :
(L'Allegro, ll. 19-20).

'Zephyr, with aurora playing, as he met her once-a-may-ing' is also the main topic of the Entertainment given to the King and Queen, on May-day in the morning at the house of Sir William Cornwallis at High-gate, 1604. This from the speech by Mercury may be helpful in the consideration of the matter : 'At her

(Main, Mercury's mother) feet, the blushing Aurora, who, with rosie hand, casteth her honie dewes on those sweeter herbs, . . . Flora makes into flowers, . . . Here, for her moneth, the yeerely delicate May keeps state . . .'

The following lines from the *Masque of Hymen*, dated 1606 may be examined in this connection :

Come, Hymen, make an inner ring,
And let the sacrificers sing ;
Cheer up the faint and trembling bride,
That quakes to touch her bridegroom's side.
Tell her what Juno is to Jove,
The same shall she be to her love ;
His wife ; which we do rather measure,
A name of dignity than pleasure.

These lines sound like the opening lines of *Il Penseroso*, specially in the pause in the middle of the penultimate line. Apart from this, we may refer to the description of the masque at the Lord Viscount Haddington's marriage at Court : On the Shrove-Tuesday at night, 1908. The lines 125-130 of *L'Allegro* :

There let Hymen oft appear,
In saffron robe, with taper clear,
And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With mas and antique pageantry ;
Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eves by haunted steam.

These may be a summing up of the directions in the Haddington Masque referred to above. '. . . the musicians attir'd in yellow, with wreaths of marioram, and veiles, like Hymens priests sung the first staffe of the following Epithalamion : which, because it was sung in pieces betweene the daunces, 'hew'd to be so many seueroll songs; but was made to be read an intire Poeme. After the song, they came forth (descending in an oblique motion) from the Zodiack, and daunc'd their first daunce; Then musique interpos'd (but varried with voyces onely keeping the same chorus) they daunc'd their second daunce ; So after, their third, and fourth daunces ; which were all full of elegancy, and curious deuice, etc. etc.[1]).

[1] *Ben Jonson*, Herford and Simpson, Vol. VII, p. 260 (Oxford).

Another of Ben's masques, the *Satyr*, composed in 1603 and printed at least as early as 1616, contains the following lines :

When about the cream-bowls sweat,
You and all your elves do meet
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
This is Mab, the Mistress-fairy,
That doth nightly rob the dairy,
And can hurt or help the cherning
As she please, without discerning.
She that pinches country wenches,
If they rub not clean their benches,
And with sharper nails remembers
When they rake not up their embers :
But if so they chance to feast her,
In a shoe she drops a tester.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
This is she that empties cradles,
Takes out children, puts in ladles ;
Trains forth midwives in their slumber,
With a sieve the holes to number ;
And then leads them from her burrows,
Home thro' ponds and water-furrows.

This fairy mythology has been wholly taken over by Milton. In L'Allegro,

Then to the spicy nut-brown ale,
With stories told of many a feat,
How faery Mab the junkets eat ;
She was pinch'd and pull'd she said ;
And he by friar's lantern led,
Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream-bowl duly set ; etc. 11.100-106.

It was not for nothing that Gifford, a most sensible commentator on Ben Jonson, remarks in his notes on the Satyr: "Milton has numerous obligations to this little piece, as, indeed, he has to most of these which follow, in the present, and subsequent volume." The masques, Naptune's Triumph, Songs of Arcades and New measure may be read side by side with the early poetry of Milton. Arcades and Comus are both masques, works in a line in which Ben Jonson was a master. T. S. Eliot thus compares Jonson and Milton, to the disparagement of the latter: Jonson's masques, an important part of his work, are neglected; our flaccid culture lets shows and literature fade, but prefers faded literature to faded shows. There are hundreds of people who have read *Comus* to ten who have read the *Masque of Blackness*. *Comus* contains fine poetry, and poetry exemplifying some merits to which Jonson's masque poetry cannot pretend. Nevertheless *Comus* is the death of the masque; it is the transition of a form of art—even of a form which existed for but a short generation—into "literature," literature cast in a form which has lost its application. Even though *Comus* was a masque at Ludlow Castle, Jonson had, what Milton came perhaps too late to have, a sense for living art; his art was applied. The masques can still be read, and with pleasure, by any one who will take the trouble—a trouble which in this part of Jonson is, indeed, a study of antiquities—to imagine them in action, displayed with the music, costume, dances, and the scenery of Inigo Jones. They are additional evidence that Jonson had a fine sense of form, of the purpose for which a particular form is intended; evidence that he was a literary artist even more than he was a man of letters.[1]

In Milton's *Areopagitica*, may we find some reminiscence of Jonson's *Discoveries*? Raleigh at least suggests the possibility. These notes of Jonson's have in them a manly tone, an extensive leaning, a compressed style and a pure diction. The following serves as a specimen: "*Vita-recta*—Wisdom without honesty is mere craft, and cozenage; which cannot be but by living well. A good life is a main argument." Again, "I knew nothing can conduce more to letters, than to examine the writings of the ancients, and not to rest in their sole authority, or take all upon trust from them; provided the plagues of judging and pronouncing against them be away; such as her envy, bitterness, precipitation, impudence, and scurril scoffing. For to all the observations of the ancients, we have our own

[1] *The Sacred Wood* (Methuen), pp. 121-122.

experience ; which if we will use, and apply, we have better means to pronounce. It is true they opened the gates, and made the way that went before us ; but as guides, not commanders. . . . Truth lies open to all; it is no man's several." Sentiments like these found a fit soil in Milton, and *Areopagitica* was the result.

The next question to consider is : was there any personal contact between Ben Jonson and Milton? Gifford places the Mermaid Tavern on Friday-Street, the next parallel to Bread-Street. But from Jonson's own lines (Epigram 133), we learn that the tavern was situated on Bread-Street :

> "At Bread-Street's mermaid having dined and merry,
> Proposed to go to Holborn in a wherry."

Masson refers to Oldys in his manuscript notes on Langbaine (annotated copy of Langbaine's Dramatic Poets in British Museum, p. 286) and speaks of two mermaids, on Bread-Street and on Friday-Street, but locates the Mermaid of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson on the former.

This is how Masson draws an imaginative picture of Milton and the Mermaid group coming together : "Any time between 1608 and 1614, while Milton was a child, we may fancy those meetings going on close to his father's house, at which, over a board covered with cups of canary, and in a room well-filled, surely, with tobacco-smoke, the seated gods exchanged their flashes." (Vol. I, p. 32).

What about the Mermaid after 1614? Specially, from 1614 to 1620? When Milton's education had not yet begun? What about Horton walks and excursion to interesting places in the neighbourhood of London? Milton, we know, was born in Bread-Street, within the city of London, between 6 and 7 O'clock (half an hour after 6, according to the Family Bible) in the morning of the ninth of December, anno 1608; we know also that his father had his office too in Bread-Street, and that his foreign admirers made it a point out of pure devotion to come to Bread-Street to see the house and chamber where he was born.[1] He entered St. Paul's when 11, in 1620. He entered College when 16, in 1625. The sonnets came on when he came of age, *i.e.*, in 1630, and L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, as well as Arcades and Comus, may be referred to 1632-4, when he was between 23 and 25.

What he read and how much he read of Ben Jonson requires to be determined. In his own account of himself he wrote in Latin :

[1] *The Early Lives of Milton*, edited by Darbishire (Constable, 1932), p. 48.

Londini sum natus genere honesto, patre viro integerrino, matre prabatissima et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum studus destinarit; quas ita avide arripui ut ab anno aetatis duodecimo vix unquam ante mediam noctem a lucubrationibus cubitum discederem; quae prima oculorum parnicies fuit, quorum quorum ad naturalem debilitatem accesserant et crebri capitis dolores. Qua omnia discendi impetum non retardarent, et in ludo literario et sub alus domi magistris erudiendum quotidie curavit; ita, varus instructum linguis et percepta hand leviter philosophiae dulcedine, ad Gymnasium gentis alterum Cantabrigium, Misit. (I was born in London, of an honest family; my father was distinguished by the undeviating intergrity of his life; my mother, by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of Literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies; or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight. My eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent headaches; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me daily instructed in the Grammar-School and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge.[1]

This was before he went to Cambridge, that is, up to 1620, and it may be naturally inferred from the passage that he was strenuously devoted to the study of various languages and also of philosophy. But his studies may have taken a different turn after he had entered Cambridge. Writing to Alexander Gill, on 2nd July, 1628, he seems to affirm his belief in literature and philosophy as essential preliminaries to theology.[2] In another letter he expresses his preference for verse contraction in Latin or English. Later on in the controversy which followed his defence of Cromwell he was taxed with a flair for frequenting the stage, and his line 'If Jonson's learned sock be on' may be considered to have an autobiographical interest. Jonathan Richardson, one of his biographers, wrote: When he was a youth, he sometimes read Romances and as Good Minds naturally

[1] Bohn, i. 254.

[2] . . . there are but one or two among us who do not take their flight to theology before ever they are fledged almost untrained and initiated in literature and philosophy alike.

will, turn'd all to his Advantage'—Between July, 1632, and December, 1634, the two years and half of his residence at Horton were the period of his composition of at least 5 new English poems—his sonnet to the nightingale, his Allegro and Penseroso, his Arcades and Comus. The date of the composition of this last and the most important piece of the five is known to have been 1634 and it is a matter of most probable inference to hold that the other four preceeded it, and the 'last of Jonson's masques was acted before the King and Queen at the Earl of Newcastle's seat on July 30, 1634. It was the younger Gill, Milton's friend, who had provoked the older poet to a heated attack by satirising his *Magnetick Lady*.

Dryden in his preface to the Fables wrote, affirming "Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original". This may have been in the mind of Masson when he declared that Milton was more a Spenserian than a follower of Jonson. On the strength of the originality of Milton's thought, Masson writes: 'Milton, though a very respectful subject of Ben, was by no means likely to make his entry into the world of letters as one of Ben's tribe. Finally, that, though as a reader, he may have ranged widely among the writing of his contemporaries, his own sympathies as a poet were more particularly with the Spenserians.'[1] Has not the time come to understand the influence of Jonson and to examine this statement? Edward Copleston's burlesque Review of Milton's L'Allegro (1807) killed the 'attempts' to show emphatically Milton's indebtedness to Spenser, the Fletchers, Drayton and Todd's learned edition of Comus, but it is mainly a question of emphasis, and if his earlier poems served a useful cause by running counter to the prevailing fashion of versifying in metaphysical jargon, Milton's study of Ben Jonson assumes a greater importance.[2]

[1] From his suburban house; December 4, 1634.

[2] Masson's Life of Milton, Vol. I, Chap. VI. (p. 514).

THE UNITED NATIONS

VAMAN H. PANDIT

Will there be a World War III? This is the most outstanding question on the lips of everybody. What is United Nations doing in order to prevent it? What kind of international body is it? What are its functions? How it differs from the old League of Nations? Why did the League fail? Will the United Nations fail? These are some of the questions which come before us when at present the war clouds are gathering thick in the horizon. An attempt is made here to answer these questions in the light of the past and present trend of events in the world.

The end of the First World War gave birth to the League of Nations. End of the Second World War saw the birth of the United Nations—a body similar in many respects to the League which it replaced. The League failed for want of co-operation amongst the associated nations. To them any genuine attempt to apply its sanctions against the threat of war was "midsummer madness."

Japan was the first nation to realise that there was no harmony of purpose amongst the member nations and that there was no effective mechanism to prevent the war. Consequently the Japs invaded Manchuria in 1931. She thus violated the Covenant of the League, the Kellog Pact and the 1922 Nine Power Treaty. No move was made by the League of Nations to apply economic or military sanctions. The League only made a verbal protest and condemned Japan's aggression. Thereupon the Japanese withdrew from the League.

This was the best tip which the Dictators of Italy and Germany could get. Subsequently they used it to their advantage. Mussolini snatched up in 1934 a "frontier" incident inside the Abyssinian border —at Walwal and in 1936 he announced the annexation of Abyssinia. The League tried to apply economic sanctions ineffectively and finally it approved the withdrawal of all sanctions against Italy after its tragic annexation. Facist regime justified the rape of Abyssinia claiming "little place in the Sun" for its excess population.

Hitler, the Dictator of Germany, succeeded in his plans simply by blusters and bluffs. He was all the while fathoming the depths

of the League of Nations. The big powers then realised that the League was a formidable potential menace to their aggressive plans. So in 1936 Germans, hesitatingly marched into the Rhineland violating both the Versaillies Treaty and Locarno Pact. Nothing was done by the League.

In Spain Hitler tested his new weapons. Spain appealed to the League in vain. The associated member nations of the League dissociated themselves from having anything to do with it. Hitler at once took this opportunity. He knew that nothing could stop him. He was pretty assured. In 1936 Berlin-Home Axis was proclaimed. Next an Anti-Commintern Pact was concluded between Japan and Germany. In this very year Hitler fell upon Austria. During the summer of 1938 he turned his attention to Czechoslovakia and further brought off the Munich agreement. In 1939 last die was cast by denouncing a ten year pact of 1934 with Poland. So, in short, these were the preludes to the World War II and the League of Nations was powerless enough not to lift a finger nor open an angry eye by way of action.

So rapid a survey of the activities of the old League of Nations is purposely given here in order to exhibit to the readers that the international mechanism which was designed to prevent war, by its gross neglect, provided a most congenial atmosphere for war and it resulted in the tragedy from which the world has not recovered yet.

The United Nations Organisation, as drafted, is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States. Its purpose is to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations; to achieve international co-operation in the solution of economic, social and other humanitarian problems and to afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

The organs of this organisation are (1) A General Assembly, (2) A Security Council and (3) an International Court of Justice. Besides, an Economic and Social Council.

The General Assembly consists of representatives of all states. These representative members have but one vote. Its exclusive business would be to control all matters concerning international co-operation on social questions. It co-ordinates policy of international agencies and initates political and economic studies and it acts through an economic and social council of 18 elected members.

The Security Council's exclusive business is to prevent wars. It shall investigate threats to peace. It has to foster peaceful

settlement and it has to decide sanctions against aggressors. In order to achieve these objects it has under it a military Staff Committee, which will advice on military requirements and on regulation of armaments and finally to direct use of war. This Council consists of five permanent members, representing the States of U. S. A.; U. K.; U. S. S. R; China and France—known as Big Five—plus six members elected from the representatives of the other States who are members of the Organisation. Thus the non-permanent members have a majority.

After having seen the constitution of the United Nations we shall briefly dwell here on the points of similarities and differences and its constitutional defects. The General Assembly of the United Nations corresponds in many respects to the Assembly of the League of Nations. The constituent membership of the Security Council resembles that of the old League. The undertakings of the League were embodied in the "Covenant." The Dumberton Oaks proposals form a treaty known as the "Charter."

But it differs from the old League in the power and resources of the Security Council. Unlike the League Council, which met only at fixed intervals, the Security Council will be in session all the time; it will not wait for an emergency to bring it together. It will not wait to have a threat to peace brought to its attention by member countries—as was the case with the old League. It will investigate disputes or incidents which threaten peace and will act at once.

In the event of threat to peace or an act of aggression, all members have to apply economic sanctions, if the Council so decreed. If the aggression requires armed force, it has the power to call on national contingents or International Police Forces as it is called, which are at its immediate disposal by the State members of this Organisation. With the assistance of the Military Staff Committee a plan for the combined action will be laid down by the Security Council irrespective of the States to which the contigents belong. Unlike the League the Security Council would not wait until the aggressor resorts to war and breaks the "Charter." It would decree action before the aggressor nation moves.

There is the Secretariat of the United Nations in order to carry on this tremendous work assisted by the Steering Committee. This body has the duty of arranging the agenda, the programme of business, what subjects shall be discussed and in what order and is altogether a powerful body. It consists of 12 members of which 2 are Russians including one seat for Poland.

These are some of the differences between the machinery of Geneva and the blueprint of Dumberton Oaks. The machinery is certainly an improvement over the old. But will it prevent war ? It all depends on the machinery ; if it is used vigorously and appropriately it can prove effective at least to a certain degree. But the problem is who is going to use it effectively ?

Consequently the main responsibility for preventing aggression rests on the BIG FIVE—the permanent members of the Security Council—who possess the magic power to prevent war. They have accepted this responsibility.

The defects of this new organisation as evolved at San Francisco apprehend an economic and imperial domination of the BIG THREE who were the real creators at the Dumberton Oaks Conference in 1944. The United Nations institution lacks in democratic conception, frame and spirit. In the Assembly every member State has a vote but it is not a sovereign body. Although the non-permanent members have a majority in the Security Council, the power of veto rests with the Big Five. It is their monopoly and without their unanimity no enforcement of action is possible, though it may be passed by the majority. Besides, there can be no amendment of the constitution without the unamimous support of the Security Council—which is a supreme omnipotent body. It is only a big Tamasha, in fact, of the Big Five of whom Big Three count actually. On the whole it is a League of the BIG FEW.

Years three have passed away since the establishment of the United Nations and one can safely conclude what it is and what it can do in the light of the past three years. At present it is meeting for the sixth time in Paris leaving behind it two special and two regular sessions. The present session is a lengthy one and perhaps it will extend for a period of three months.

The past history of the Big Five is not so encouraging as to assure the world of their noble intention and sublime ideals of peace and world security. They are noted for their imperialism and economic exploitation. What hope is there for smaller nations that their problems will be solved to their entire satisfaction under this BIG PAW. Anyway they can compose the differences of the smaller nations to their own interest or of the individual nations as was the case with the old League of Nations. The smaller nations can expect a monkey type of justice and nothing else.

But the most outstanding question is who is going to effect an agreement when the Big Five disagree amongst themselves, as is

the case at present over the Berlin Blockade. The old League of Nations collapsed on this vital point alone. It would be little wonder if the United Nations breaks down like a house of playing cards. It is the rivalry of the Big Five that will again endanger the peace of the world and will lead to the world war III ; if not over the Berlin issue at least later over some other issue.

The real test of the United Nations organisation will be to compose the differences of the Big and this will decide whether it is going to be a successful affair or not. The major point is who is to bell the Big Cat ?

Never was a serious error committed in international politics than the splitting of Germany into two parts. This was an act which few regarded at that time as an act of war or as the beginning of war. The Potsdam declaration dismembered Germany by imposing on it a Four Power Control for the elimination of the Nazisim and the destruction of the German war potential. Today these powers are differing in political, economic and social ideologies. In order to prevent the Berlin conflict developing into world conflagration a joint withdrawal of occupation powers from Germany is essential or allow Russia her own way. But this seems rather impossible.

Russia has constantly displayed a negative attitude, at least by using her veto 27 times on various events put up by the Western Block. Consequently, the unanimity of the Big Five has been destroyed and now one has to think about the dire consequences to follow. The Western Block tried its level best to straighten the tail of the Russian bear but they have failed in their efforts. Russian refusal to lift the blockade of Berlin is a clear violation of the "Charter."

The Balance of Power has been rudely shaken by curbing Japan and Germany for these two nations were very powerful checks on Russian designs. No peace can be in sight unless these two countries attain their former position. They would have brought the Russian bear to its senses which has drunk enough Vodka.

Very recently Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India, sounded the death knell of this sovereign international body. Addressing the men of the Royal Indian Force on the Gandhi Jayanti Day he referred to the issues of Kashmir and Hyderabad by United Nations and remarked prophetically that it has failed miserably to solve these problems. "In fact if the Security Council cannot solve these issues, it might be more properly and fittingly called an insecurity Council. How far would we be advised to be a member of the august

organisation." Our Deputy Prime Minister has voiced the feelings and sentiments of what we feel about the work of the United Nations.

Besides, the problems of Palestine, Balkans, Disarmament and of Indians in South Africa are such where disagreement is prevailing among the members of Assembly. The Big Powers have agreed to disagree. The diplomats who have gathered in Paris by their argumentative tactics are tantilizing the whole world.

Similarly the Atomic Energy Commission has suspended its activities after having laid down two plans for international control and have placed a sorry tale before the Assembly as the members could not evolve out a control policy.

The success of the United Nations will depend upon one fact and that is if it can compel the Big Nations to give up their designs of imperialism and exploitation, if it wants to prevent further wars. The Disarmament proposals which are being discussed today at Paris are indicative of the failures of the Disarmament Conference of 1932-33 and the Naval Treaty of 1936. While talking of Disarmament they go on arming at break-neck speed. Suppose it is agreed that armaments should be reduced by one-third proportionately by all. But who will supervise that the powers participating in the agreements have fulfilled their commitments. Effective supervision and periodical inspection of armaments by the United Nations is an essential thing without which all hopes are bound to dash to pieces. This is a grave question whether the commitments settled upon would be respected by militaristic powers who have licked the charms of war. Peace is with the diplomats who have gathered in Paris but like a lost thing they are searching it elsewhere. They do not mean serious business. Is Peace a rare thing? In fact it is so rare that it may be said not to exist—except in heavens.

Another point worth noticing is that the United Nations is an organisation of victors. It is not fully representative body of all nations. There are 58 nations represented except Germany. Others, perhaps more than 12 are asking for memberships. Peace cannot come on the hard wings of self-aggrandisement. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India while broadcasting to the nation on Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday remarked about the United Nations: "His own feeling was that another great war would not come for some time. The United Nations was there, and even if its conduct justified doubts about its ability to maintain peace, its ideals and the fundamental principles on which it was based should give hope to every one." Our Prime Minister has asserted his full faith in the

United Nations and along with it goes the public expression. Our respect for the United Nations has not diminished. It is the only hope of Peace and security to the war-weary world.

Our Foreign Policy is non-aggressive. We want Peace and security to be established in world. We should not relax our vigilance on the rolling waves of international rivalry. We are going to play a noble role by refusing alignment with either of the world blocks and presumably by our policy of constructive neutrality to bridge the differences between the East and the West. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, The Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India are the two statesmen foremost in the world who are guardian angels of Peace. We are confident that once again the gospel of Peace and Love will be given by India to the distracted world.

The ensuing weeks and months shall prove mankind beyond doubt what a modern warfare is—too terrible to contemplate with its atomic bombs. It means wiping away of the human race—a veritable deluge. If the humanity is destroyed will the Big Five survive to picture the glorious vision of peace? This is a very mournful truth.

THROUGH THE SAHARA BY OMNIBUS

P. K. BANERJEA, N.K.I. (SWEDEN)

(Wonderful views of deceptive mirage and Fata Morgana give one the impression of a fairy-land. A camel-stable in the Sahara looked exactly like a fantastic palace against the background of the infinite horizon. A perpetual war with the scorching, 'Simooms' marks here the day-to-day struggle for existence. 'Ahaggar', a fantastic world in stones, . . . its name has a thrilling, mysterious ring.)

Sahara is not merely a vast sea of sands as is generally imagined by many who have never seen her. If it were so, it would have been completely impassable even for a caravan, which is made up of the most patient quadrupeds on earth, the camels. After several days' journey through the desert one usually comes up against a notice like this: Beware of Sands.'

Surely is Sahara a vast sandy waste where flying sands choke the engines of motor-cars and similar other vehicles and where dead sands have formed into gigantic dunes. But above everything else the bleak and barren appearance of Sahara is due to all types of stones that lie scattered all over here. There are veritable mountains of stones in this endless expanse of sandy waste. Stones can be seen strewn here and there as if by the mighty hands of some unknown race of giants; heaps of huge blocks of stones, small pieces of stones, stones crushed to bits in the grinding mill of time, ... it is a region where desolation and death are marked at every step by stones rising above the sands like macabre symbols of Death's complete victory over life, . . . a victory which is more eloquently proclaimed than the fanfare of trumpets and the march-past of victorious armies. It seems as if some unknown gigantic hands have kept on showering nothing else but stones from on high ever since time immemorial. Here the soil has a reddish, burnt-out appearance and it stretches afar between this Golgotha of stone-fields. Due to lack of rains and water-courses the soil has been dried up to a stony hardness. Here everything from the soil to the air above is devoid of moisture and the peoples who have sprung up from this hard soil and have breathed its scorching hot dry air are naturally fierce and relentless like the desert itself.

A desert is not so monotonously uniform in its features as one is apt to think. Here in the Sahara it stretches out in a vast plain like the mighty Pampas of the Argentine and then again its uniformity is broken by mountainous formations and wild ravines. On our journey through these endless stretches of sandy wastes we came across dried-up river-beds and hillocks with tall parched grasses crowning their tops, which looked like the sharp and pointed bristles of some pre-historic monsters resembling the porcupine in appearance. There were places which were completely bereft of any vegetation whatsoever and which looked black as asphalt and at other places, as if to bring the contrast into more prominent lines, we found bright white stones shining in the burning sun and looking like varnished ones. Yellow sand-dunes which formed the haunts of sleeping lions formed a common sight here. Sometimes we had to make our adventurous way across peculiarly formed table-lands where the hills and other elevations of uniform height looked like the perfect carvings made by some sculptor who was a real virtuoso in the art. Like solitary altars or like the legs of some giant tables hanging in space or like the pillars of some gigantic structure yet to be completed they stood there like mute sentries on the watch in the midst of desolation.

As if in deep, reverential prisons to the heavens above them, some of these hills reared their heads in a congregational row. Here the super-muteness of the silence seemed more eloquent than the sound of words and the profound echo of a forceful voice. We felt as though we had crossed into dream-land where Death seemed more dynamic than life inspite of its throbs and pulsations, its fret and fever. Here it seemed that Death had completely banished life to celebrate in a more befitting manner his great victory over life and to bring home to the world at large the futility of vital efforts at survival from his sure and relentless clutches.

Almost everything is open and exposed in the desert save and except perhaps distance, which seems to be something limitless, hidden and unexplorable. Like an insuperable barrier distance alone will provide the most difficult hurdle to your tireless efforts for reaching your destination. You may drive on mile after mile in a car or an omnibus but still you can hardly get rid of the feeling that your goal which was just now hovering near the horizon is receding farther and still farther away to disappear finally altogether into the limitless distance, which seems to swallow up all your efforts at reaching your journey's end. If the desert has got any charm, any mystery it surely lies in its great void and emptiness, its limitless distance, and

in the absence of life. By itself a desert has nothing of promise to offer and scarcely anything to attract. But it is perhaps due either to man's mental incapacity for withstanding the monotomy and boredom of this void and loneliness or what is still more probable due to his irresistible desire of filling out this limitless void that he grows fidgety about expecting what mysteries may lie hidden there. And once this urge within him is kindled, it burns like the consuming flame of a fire when no sacrifice is considered too great for him to feed this unquenchable flame.

A desert is the very haunt of fantastic visions and the very birth-place of deceptive mirage. The mysterious natural phenomena occurring in a desert have made its inhabitants superstitious, many of whom sincerely believe that in it alone can lie the garden of Allah which an infidel can never see with his eyes. The limitless void of the desert, however, altogether damps their spirits and inspires awe in their hearts so that they are not in a position to delve into its inner hidden mysteries and are compelled to look inwards within their own selves rather than outwards in search of something tangible and real. In their opinion all searches that are made outwards in a desert must go in vain as a boomerang recoiling back to its starting point without being able to hit its objective. This peculiar view on life and things has helped the inhabitants of the desert to develop an esoteric culture, which gives them an opportunity of self-introspection, though paradoxically enough inspite of their proverbial hospitality and other high moral qualities they are a fierce and relentless people.

But everything is not devoid of real substance like the mirage in a desert. Within the framework of this great void and loneliness the desert can offer some clear view-points for a concrete picture, which however like the deceptive and unreal mirage itself undergoes a constant change in shape and colour and is at times ridiculously enlarged by the limitless distance. For example a slab of stone which is raised on the top of a hillock is visible miles and miles around and more often than not it is mistaken for a watch-tower. A solitary white-washed grave which had the shape of a tulip-bud was seen to dominate the entire horizon in the desert. Animals which are watered at the well form vignettes in an idyllic setting. A green bush on the road-side which is a rare sight in a desert is clearly visible from a great distance though it be quite small in size.

In short it may be said that the desert gives sufficient scope to every object for coming into its own within the framework of emptiness.

On our thrilling journey through the Sahara we came across at different places rows of half-naked labourers with pieces of cloth securely tied round their mouths to guard against the choking sands working on some new road-constructions only with shovels in hands. Labourers equipped with giant pick-axes and cauldrons for boiling asphalt were also seen at other places. The red tents which they had pitched on the roadside looked like so many prominent land-marks. It was not seldom that we came upon the skeleton of a dead camel which looked like a wreckage floating in the sand, . . . the tragic wreckage of the ship of the desert. Sometimes we also came upon the broken parts of automobiles and aircraft lying scattered here and there and which looked like the wreckages of other craft that followed in the wake of the ship of the desert. A traveller in a desert would hardly care to take notice of a camel-skeleton but he can hardly ignore to take notice of the wreckage of an aeroplane or of a derelict car, at the tragic sight of which a note of ejaculation almost involuntarily must escape from his mouth, agape with wonder and awe at the thought of the grim tragedy of human lives lost in the scorching desert either due to shortage of fuel or lack of water.

What living beings are usually seen in an arid desert like the Sahara? Apropos this question it may be said in reply that the graciously springing gaselle forms a very happy sight in certain parts of the desert. It is the very embodiment of flitting Beauty which seems to lend rhythm, grace and colour to the dull and monotonous existence of its inhabitants. Birds flying in the desert air are a rare sight but surprisingly enough we saw some wild geese which apparently had lost their way into it. In the heart of the desert we saw a native come springing as if in a jog-trot and swinging a cask made of some animal, skin round and round for reasons best known to him. A long caravan of camels majestically silhouetted against the infinite horizon of the desert in the fast fading light of the evening is an unforgettable sight which will perhaps be remembered by a traveller for a life-time. A motor-car struggling forward through the sands and raising behind a thick cloudy trail of dust reminded us of some strange rocket leaving behind a cloud of smoke in its long trail. And when the shades of the evening began falling thick and fast the welcome sight of the flame of some fire burning in a distant tent and flickering in the great void of the desert seemed to cast a magic spell on us.

As if by magic, out of nothing in the rays of the setting sun a fantastic palace was seen to take shape all of a sudden and it was

sharply outlined against the horizon in all its gorgeousness and structural majesty. It hovered in the air for sometime with its battlemented walls and towers which looked like being made of pure gold. When however it took a more definite and concrete shape and was unmistakably found to have its foundations on the desert sands it revealed itself to be such a commonplace thing as a camel-stable made only of mud. It stood on the border of a salty waste which was shining like the dazzling white snow under a bright sun. The greatest dupe on earth is the desert that cheats the human eyes with its magic tricks of light and shade. The presence of an old man with some goats near the stable seemed to give it an idyllic setting. There was also a well nearby. A notice hung up there actually commanded respect from us for giving a warning to all caravans intending to proceed further up with these words; 284 kilometres without water.

There are two high ways which lead across the Sahara from the north to the south and which in ancient times were solely used as caravan-routes. Now-a-days however these routes have been found not quite unsuitable for use by motor-cars also. The western route extends through Morocco and Colomb-Bechar down to Gao In Nigeria. The eastern route leads from Algeria and extends straight down through the Central Sahara to Zinder which lies in the tableland rising near the Nigerian frontier. A regular passenger traffic has been opened through the desert by a transport company which goes by the proud name of The Hogger Line. About a dozen tours are made during the less hot seasons of the year and about eight passengers are allowed to travel on each of these trips. These trips are very strenuous as they are made across very difficult terrain which however offers a good deal of thrill, and opportunities for making adventures as a compensation for the trouble caused to passengers and they take about full two weeks to complete. The means of transportation across these routes is provided by lorries and buses, equipped with broad balloon-tyres. The stretch of tract that has to be covered on such a trip runs up to 350 miles. The first three days journey which takes the passengers to the Al Goba oasis is uneventful and it goes rather smoothly for them. This oasis forms the goal for many less adventurous tourists. The great physical strain involved in the journey farther up is the direct result of the hellish jolts and jerks caused by the uneven character of the road, which put to a severe test the patience of the passengers and completely upset their stomachs and cause a bruised feeling all over

their body. The farther you go into the interior by this route the greater is the desolation which is very marked by the lesser number of human habitations. As these trips are very long and tedious they are undertaken early in the morning at 4 A.M. and they last till 9 P.M. in the night. Arriving at their strenuous journey's end the travellers usually take shelter for the night in old moribund forts and inns which for their peculiar architectural make-up remind us of Spanish inns and public-houses, built in an antiquated style. Here there is scarcely any lighting arrangement and here you can scarcely expect to get even a little quantity of fresh water for washing your hands and mouth. Like all the other necessary articles as lanterns for lighting purposes, clean bed-sheets, towels, blankets etc., you are also required to carry a sufficient quantity of fresh water for avoiding the inconvenience of a night's stay at these ancient forts and inns which seem to form the *Ultima Thule* of human civilisation. A little quantity of wine is however offered here as a substitute for water for washing only the hands. Here you can really feel the grim character of Sahara as a waterless desert and an exact idea of the great desolation prevailing here can be best formed from the fact that even such an insignificant thing as a primitive mud-built dwelling-house which is the haunt of but a handful of natives has not been neglected to be marked out in the map of Sahara.

The passengers on such a journey through the wild and desolate regions of the desert look like bold and fearless pioneers on the move. The sight of the jolting lorries and buses which are employed on these routes and which jog along the difficult terrain of the desert packed with passengers and carrying all the paraphernalia of their household goods is reminiscent of the days in the Wild West of America which was then an unexplored region and through which the bold pioneers and adventurers blazed the trail of glory in jolting camp-wagons. Like deep furrows on the face of Mother Earth these uneven desert-routes pass through dangerous ravines at many places, which are difficult to negotiate for lorries and buses and at other they stretch out either in a single file across stony plains or radiate in all directions with the track of wheels indelibly imprinted on the sands. The French ingenuity for improvisation has achieved notable triumphs here. The chauffeurs who are employed on the Hoggar Line are said to be real masters in the art of improvisation.

They combine in themselves the high moral qualities of humanitarians, the skill of expert technicians and artists and are full of the spirit of bold adventure. They are very proud of their profession

and their technical skill and are fully conscious of the great responsibility that rests on their shoulders. They can make complicated impromptu repairs on the roadside without evincing any feeling of nervousness and without betraying any symptoms of confusion. When there is a puncture *en route* they get an opportunity of displaying their technical dexterity by employing an altogether new and ingenious method of pumping air into the extra tyre which replaces the punctured one. This novel method has helped to dispense with the need of carrying or using a pump. Being infused with the spirit of bold adventure and being constantly inspired by a fanatical zeal for bringing succour to the distressed and ministering to the needs of the passengers, they will stop at nothing to realise the aims of their noble profession. To them the Sahara, which seems to be covered with a romantic halo of glory, which is something mysteriously beautiful and charming, which is something half exposed and half hidden, which is like Beauty itself covered with a thin veil and elusive as the mirage itself which attracts and challenges them to action, is both a fiend and a lover, who must be hated and loved, conquered and won reapeatedly. It was a treat to see many of them in action in the heart of the wild desert. I was greatly impressed with some of the typical representatives of this hard-working group of chauffeurs, engaged in such useful and humanitarian job, who typifying the bold spirit of the Crusadors of old carried on their incessant struggle in the very heart of the desert in furtherance of the cause of their noble mission. One of them was very much tanned and had a round chin and a pair of clear bright eyes. He faced the desert and all the difficulties that lay there to be overcome with a genial and beaming smile which lit up his broad weather-beaten face. He was seen to take out some wine from a cask made of skin which was hung up on the side of the bus, where it was meant to keep cool for being used as a refreshing drink. Words gushed out in rapid cascades from his open mouth when he hurriedly spoke about the desert, the routes and the tours in an enthusiastic and lively tone. He seemed enthusiastic about everything and the dark cloud of pessimism seemed absolutely incapable of darkening the bright horizon of his broad mind, lit up by the glorious sun of hope and confidence. With an air of cynisism and contempt he characterised the difficulties, obstacles and risks that he was sure to meet with in the desert, remote from the bournes of human civilisation, as nothing but insignificant bagatelles, which must be ignored as the deceptive mirage itself. He did not look tired in the least inspite

of the very difficult and the extremely strenuous character of his job and it seemed as though he hardly required either any rest or sleep and as though nothing suited more to his constitution to buck him up than the great extremes of temperature prevailing in the desert. The severe cold in the night and the scorching heat of the day in the desert seemed more to send a thrilling cheer through his entire frame rather than sap his physical strength or damp his unconquerable spirit. A radiant personality with a Herculean will that he was and who seemed to be possessed by the very spirit of the mighty desert, he knew but to look forward and preferred death a thousand times to retracing his steps backwards even in the face of heavy odds. He was the most unforgettable character that I had ever met in my wanderings through the Sahara.

The other type that I came across in the desert and which likewise attracted my interested notice was ascetic-like gaunt in his physical make-up. He looked rather pale and he was fidgety and jerky all over, now drinking only water like a fish, then again snatching at some provisions rather nervously or angrily biting at a bone like a ravenous wolf and swearing all the time in a low mutter between his teeth at the violent sandstorms raging in the desert and at the stone-quarries lying scattered here and there. He pulled up his bus rather abruptly and getting off with an impatient jerk threw himself down on the sands to rest in the welcome shadow of the bus. He lay there motionless for a while like a dead man with his arms outstreched across his eyes. Suddenly with an accountable jerk he got up again and rushed away from the road into the desert in a mad frenzy as if to challenge the desert itself to a trial of strength with him. All the passengers were taken aback at his strange behaviour and began to entertain great doubts regarding his mental sanity. He grew so indifferent to their feelings and protestations that he hardly took any notice of them and seldom cared to make any answers to their anxious questionings. He simply kept on shaking his head as one with whom something was wrong in the upper storey or he cast threatening looks at them which seemed to pierce them like sharp knives. After sometime as if regaining his lost reason he made cutting remarks at the job-like tribulations that he had to suffer in the desert, where no smooth sailing could be expected as on an autostrada. He was a man who was not so much beset with fear at the grim prospect of completing the difficult, nerve-racking journey through the desert, but rather being overpowered by fatigue and exhaustion and being completely disgusted with the super-human

nature of the task he could hardly contain himself from giving violent expressions to his untidy tantrums, which driving him almost to the point of desperation and madness made him behave so ridiculously.

These two typical types of chauffeurs are however transformed in their own ways into gallant and gay cavaliers after they have enjoyed rest and relaxation in the desert oases; where opportunities for social gatherings are utilised to the full which help them in no small measure in foregetting all the bitter memories of privations they had to undergo on their strenuous desert-trips. Clad in their gay blue outfits they play the happy role of charming bar-tenders in the local 'Suk' (An Arabic word for bazar or market), where they keep the visitors almost spell-bound by their thrilling stories which are narrated from the pages of their life-history, vibrant with bold exploits in the desert. Like some legendary heroes crowned with the bright halo of glory they become the objects of highest admiration and regard for these visitors. The first of these two types of heroes is generallly vociferously eloquent, who in the midst of his excitable narration frequently indulges in the clever art of histrionics for bringing home to the gathering of his listeners in a more pointed manner the grave risks that are involved in his special humanitarian work in the heart of the desert, far away from the farthest outposts of human civilisation. Being an adept both in the art of histrionics and rhetorics, his forceful narrative speeches are generally punctuated by loud applause which bursts forth spontaneously from the hearts of his admiring listeners. He may be also seen to empty one glass after another in great excitement both for the purpose of keeping up the hysteria and for soothing his tired and parched throat.

The second type has an altogether different way of charming his listeners. He attracts their notice and wins their admiration by remaining sinisterly silent and sullen or simply by accentuating his callously indifferent attitude with an occasional outburst of sharp exclamatory notes or by a sudden passionate and dramatic gesture or last but not least with a sudden and quick flash of wolfish grin as the anti-climax to his sombrely silent attitude. Both of these types have not only their friends and admirers everywhere, but perhaps many a lover to court them for their gallantry and their admirable spirit of sacrifice. Though they are heavily worked and poorly paid yet like bold Knights of the Desert they are sworn in spirit to undergo all the hardships of the desert-trips and notwithstanding the grave risks, the untold hardships involved in

these trips and the painful monotony of the Desert, they can never forget the mild attractive charm of the cool shady oasis, where they feel some kind of unexpected luck always awaits them to brace them up and lift them up to the seventh heaven of joy and excitement, where the finest food and drink is freely served to them and the highest honours are lavishly showered upon them.

After passing Al Golea which has a friendly appearance you get into the real desert which is desolate and has an unfriendly, unbending and relentless look. There is an abandoned fort here where travellers take rest and shelter, after which they take out their dried up meagre provisions for satisfying their great hunger after a long and strenuous journey. This place is very well suited for shooting films meant to depict the grim fight which is carried on between man and nature in a desert. There within the ruins of what was once a strong fort in days gone-by you will find an iron-plated heavy door through which a dark passage leads to some rooms which look like dark cells and which have openings and holes in the walls still in tact for shooting purposes. As you proceed further into the interior you will find an old well in the courtyard. You can form some idea of its great depth by just throwing a chip of stone into it. And beside the well on the ground the sight of cinders and ashes of some burnt-out fire left behind by an unknown traveller seems to have a romantic charm, which keeps on lingering in the memory for a long time like a sweet recollection.

Here it seemed as though by leaving the vibrant, the living present far, far behind, about at least a thousand years back into the limbo of oblivion we entered into the dead and dark past, haunted by legendary memories only, which at every foot-fall of ours seemed to be roused back into life again from the profound sleep of death and forgetfulness. Now we come to the desert again, the desert as it was seen under long hours of the glowing sun or as it was seen under the brooding, lingering twilight, which like a master artist in a pensive mood seemed to paint a beautiful picture over it with a strange mixture of magic steel-bluish and roseate hues or under the evening sky when the evening star hung on the horizon like a giant luminous beetle in glowing golden colours. Deeply musing upon these unforgettable sights we at last reached a city, named 'In Salah,' which rose up directly out of the sands. Here the air we breathed was a quaint mixture of smoke and dust. Seated round tables in the open lit up by carbide lamps we saw groups of military men in baggy trousers and rectangular sandals enjoying a glass of

wine. Their broad chests had a brownish hue tanned by the great heat of the sun. The next morning we found that the city had the stamp of something inexplicably elusive and surprisingly unreal in nature of the mirage itself. As if for want of knowledge of doing something else the inhabitants of the desert built up this city in the very heart of a sandy waste in 100% Sudanese style. The chocolate brown walls of the city were decorated with strange patterns in an undulating style and were crenellated white. The arches of the white-washed portals looked like the erect ears of some giant asses and the streets of this city looked like avenues with shady causarina trees lining on both sides. Like the mysterious figures of some unknown pagan idols petrol-pumps could be seen built inside small chapel-like structures and straw mattresses were seen hung up at the windows of the buildings for giving protection against the sun and the sandstorms.

Outside the city and into the desert again we saw how the desert gradually rose in elevation into gigantic wave-like formations like a vast sea whipped up into an uncontrollable fury by the storm and then suddenly checked and solidified as if by the magic command of the Almighty Providence in the midst of its mutinous agitation. Then again at the sight of the giant sanddunes which looked like being so many sleeping giants, we got the strange feeling that as if to exercise them of the malign influence of evil spirits hedges of palm-leaves were clinging fast to their tops. 'In Salah' has to wage a constant war with the sands. It seemed as though it formed part of the household duty of the women of the city to keep the sands away from their doors. Groups of black female sweepers with shovels in hands were always in action as willing volunteers filling the ranks of other fireless fighters to strengthen their common front against their enemy No. 1, the onrushing choking sands. By shovelling away the sands mercilessly unloaded upon their city by the fierce sandstorms and by loading them in small wagons tottering on rails they dumped them into the desert again and thereby they paid it back in its own coin. In some other quarters of the city we happened to come across groups of black women lying or sitting on the sand outside their dwelling-houses enjoying a sweet hour of gossip and "dolce far niente." Leaving behind this city we came to a resting place, called Arak, which looked like being an outpost of the Ahaggar mountains. There it lay overshadowed by cubically shaped mountain fastnesses, which had an unbelievable architectural grandeur. Giant trees towering upon the rocks and having dirty,

dingy appearance being covered with dust like some ancient cob-webs and as if to sharpen the contrast, just under them bright green bushes and undergrowths bearing some unknown types of poisonous fruits clung fast to their feet. Strangely they seemed to lend their mutual co-operation in pressing out a little moisture from the clouds rolling on the hill-sides. On the grassy hillocks gazelles could be seen grazing in pairs very peacefully. Shy and timid as they were they also ran away in pairs on the slightest apprehension of any danger that might be lurking near.

Now a word about the rocks and the Ahaggar mountains. Like giant pillars of billowing clouds they appeared before us in their massive iron black rugged exterior. Now they seemed to be quite near us as if lying within our easy reach and then again they seemed to recede into the background farther and still farther away, when distance lending enchantment to our view made them appear almost transparent, tinged with a steel-blue colour, which however rapidly yielded to a purple red. Against the giant walls of the rocks sands riding high on the crest of storms dashed in vain like the breakers of a mighty ocean striking against a rocky shore. These rocks have got the name of "The Atlantis' Gates." According to a legend it was here that the fabulous city of Atlantis was swallowed up by the desert. And yonder brooded the Ahaggar mountains, which in every-day parlance are called Hoggar by the French, like a giant in sorrow towering high with-peaks rising to a height of 3,000 metres, which constitutes the highest point reached by any mountain in the Sahara. They form at once the centre and the very heart of the Sahara, a wild heart of stone, broken and shattered to pieces by the relentlessness of the sun and blackened as if by the raging fire of disappointed love.

All around us was unfolded the tragic grandeur of a lavishly wasted sculptural work, executed by Nature herself on a colossal scale. Giant statues could be seen lying scattered in all directions. It was a most unusual sight which gave us the impression that we had entered into a new world of sculpture where due to some unaccountable reason colossal figures in stone had crashed headlong from their pedestals into the sands, where they lay huddled together in a riotous confusion. Some of these figures lay half buried in the sands like the mutilated bodies of an extinct race of giants slain in an unrecorded, unremembred battle which might have been fought long, long ago in the pre-historic times. There were mountainous heaps of colossal heads, broken asunder, blind faces leaving

definite human features torn away from the skulls, and ridiculously twisted torsos. The solitary rocks towering high on the desert sands by their peculiar shape looked like mastodons or some other prehistoric monsters. They seemed to strike terror into our hearts by their fierce petrified looks and by their threatening thorny crests rising high into the air. The sight of Ahaggar must prove to be a terrible nightmarish experience even for an expert sculptor. Here he can hardly escape the queer feeling of being excelled in design and craftsmanship by looking at this colossal sculptural work, now mostly in ruins, left behind and executed by an unknown hand. He will be probably gripped with a mixed feeling of profound ecstacy and great fear at this fantastic sight of an undreamt of sculptural extravagance. This gigantic stone-world hidden in the bosom of the Sahara is sure not only to strike terror into the hearts of every type of living human being but will perhaps at the same time make him feel so little and insignificant that by accepting defeat he will be glad to acknowledge his hopeless incapability of accomplishing anything in that grand and colossal scale. A peculiar touch of the modern trend in sculpture is inexplicably enough evident in primitive Ahaggar's monumental sculptural relics which might in no small measure help the sculptors of our time belonging to the most advanced Schools of progressive ideals and thought in gathering the necessary clues for getting the lost secret of creating solid sculptural designs of colossal dimensions and achieving a classical craftmanship. Experts are now wondering whether it was from Ahaggar that the ancient peoples of North Africa got their first inspiration of building structures of colossal dimensions like the Egyptian pyramids which up to this day form one of the wonders of the world or whether the prominent plastic features of both man and nature in Africa formed the direct source of inspiration for an unknown race, now extinct, that might have founded their civilisation in and around Ahaggar in the heart of the Sahara long, long ago. It is a very puzzling question which is still shrouded in mystery. As dark as Africa itself or perhaps a shade more dark than its darkest regions is this great mystery on which only divided expert opinion is available. Who can give the answer to the puzzling question whether these have been the work of man or nature herself?

STORY OF THE WAR *

Here in this book, one of the greatest soldiers of all time, General Eisenhower—who led the allied soldiers to victory in World War II through French North African possessions, Sicily, Italy and finally France, Netherlands and Germany—unfolds its story in its critical and last phase in twenty-four unforgettable chapters. His descriptions of men and events, of planning his campaigns in different theatres and of his trials and tribulations in managing these scattered campaigns read like romance. The story of the war has been presented in a simple, forthright style which has added to the attraction of this great book. While going through Eisenhower's narration one is reminded of another great story of a war written by another soldier—Thucydides " History of the Peloponnesian War ". In his anxiety to make his story as accurate as it is possible for one who has played a distinguished part in it, to make it as impartial as it is possible to make for any ordinary mortal when hate blazes forth in all its nakedness, Eisenhower proves himself almost a rival of the Great Greek. As a work of literary art Eisenhower's work may not approach the unattainable standard laid down by the greatest master of all times in the field of historical narration. Yet this book will also be regarded " as a possession " for ever just like the other.

When World War II was on the point of becoming a " Global War " by the entry of Japan into it, Eisenhower was a mere Lieutenant Colonel in the U. S. Army attached to the staff of General MacArthur in the Philippines. Like all men who prove themselves " men of the moment " and rise to great heights in human history during a crisis, Eisenhower vaguely sensed that his hour had come when he dashed back home shortly before the eventful month of December, 1941. The way in which General Marshall—the chief of staff of the U. S. Army—tried to find out his worth, and then started advancing him in his career seems unbelievable in countries, where systems are static and hidebound. Thus he, a comparative junior officer, became within an incredibly short period of a year Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Army in Europe, entrusted with the task of liberating that continent from Nazi thraldom. How innumerable the supercessions must have been ! Yet in Eisenhower's

* Crusade in Europe by General Eisenhower, 25s—Published by William Heinamann, Limited

account we do not get any evidence of bickering and controversy amongst the officers that might have undermined the morale and discipline of the army on the eve of its being launched into an undertaking of the most complex and difficult character imaginable! The appreciation of merit, the sense of discipline and the sense of patriotism of the American citizens prove themselves in no uncertain fashion in the career of Eisenhower. U. S. A.'s leadership in world politics becomes understandable if among other things we take a note of the abovementioned characteristics. The spirit of selfish grab which shuts the gates of promotion and prominence against "novus homo" is absolutely absent in the story of Eisenhower's rise to glory. Without Marshall, Eisenhower's career would have been impossible—Eisenhower's narration makes that quite clear. He was really the joint author of the victory as he steadfastly supported him through every difficulty, bringing to him men and materials needed by him for victory.

The most likeable feature in this book lies in the attempt of the author to stay away from the lime-light wherever possible. He is more than generous towards his colleagues and allows them to take credit for victories of which he was the real architect. He has no unkind word for any of his subordinates though one instinctively feels that some of them at times must have given him immense trouble. General Montgomery's letter to him speaks for itself—"I owe much to your wise guidance and kindly forbearance. I know my own faults very well and I do not suppose I am an easy subordinate; I like to go my own way. But you have kept me on the rails in difficult and stormy times and have taught me much." In the story of the war however this great soldier never tries to boost himself up by describing even in an insinuating way on what occasions he kept England's darling "Monty" on the rails and "taught him much." His magnanimity and lack of self-advertisement are indeed remarkable!

The story of the war as presented by him with the help of charts and maps, makes one pause for some time in wonder. Never in human history a more difficult task awaited any power or coalition of powers than the attack on Nazi-held Europe from the English shores. This crosschannel attack had baffled the Great Napoleon and had daunted Hitler when he stood master of Europe with the English army smashed to smithereens at Dunkirk. In the face of German fortifications, German gun emplacements, mine arrangements and new war inventions, to plan this project and execute it successfully seem to be almost unbelievable. The weight of materials that were brought

to bear on this impossible and unique venture to make it a success cannot but impress one with the tremendous resources of the U. S. A. who contributed the lion's share of them. Never in human history there was a greater collection of men and materials than were assembled for this gamble!

Regarding the story of actual fighting the accounts of the break through from the Normandy beachhead, the beating back of the German counter offensive in complete defeat in the Argantan—Falais Sector, the final victory in the battle of the Bulge, the attack and conquest of the Seigfried line and the final crossing of the Rhine, to mention only a few of the stirring events, make one live through that vivid atmosphere in which Eisenhower and his colleagues encompassed the defeat of Germany. For a student of military science the account of these battles will be specially invaluable. From the point of view of conception, preparation and execution of the plans standing behind them, he will learn much of mechanised warfare of the present day based on intimate co-operation between the airforce and groundforce all through.

Of the many other interesting features of the book we cannot but mention one. In it we are made to realise clearly how the American democracy actually reacts to the criticisms in the press, and what respect it has for the co-operation of the fourth estate. They are in strange contrast to the prevailing attitude—sometimes of contempt, sometimes of apathy—towards it in our own country. Thus, *e.g.*, even at the height of a crisis there is no attempt at a censorship of an item of news like the "Patton slapping" incident. There is no attempt at pooh-poohing criticism by the authorities on the ground that it concerned a combat leader who had done and was doing invaluable service in Italy and Sicily with the invading allied armies. Eisenhower personally attends to that business and sets matter right. There are many other similar incidents, when in the midst of his harassing, difficult and arduous duties the General has to attend to questions raised in the press and satisfy it. This attitude of respect towards the press, makes it also responsible and so no attempt is made by it to write about the project of the invasion of Sicily, the date and time thereof, though they were informed beforehand about them by Eisenhower himself. How we wish we could have in our land a similar attitude towards the press of our Government and a similarly responsible and patriotic attitude of the press as the abovementioned incident proves!

Through this first great contribution to the history of World War II, Eisenhower emerges personally as a farseeing, bold, tactful, firm master of modern scientific warfare. Personally he shows himself to be kind and considerate towards every body, good and generous towards his friends, ready to acknowledge and reward merit in his subordinates. But at the same time he never allows any personal consideration to stand in the way of success to the cause. Thus he has patience for a soldier who feels overwhelmed with nerves when the battle for the Rhine opens, pats him on his back, tells him that he also feels like him and then invites him to join him to make a supreme last heave for victory. Again, at the time of the African campaign, he asks one of his bodyguards not to accompany him on a flight in rough weather as there was no sense in both of them being uncomfortable at the same time. The reply of the soldier overwhelmed him " Sir, my mother wrote me that my job in this war was to take care of you. And she said also " If General Eisenhower does not come back from this war, don't you dare to come back." He puts his friends like Bradley, Patton and many others in position of honour, trust and responsibility but if they go wrong he pulls them up sharply as he did when Patton slapped a soldier and abused another in a hospital, where they were suffering from 'battle neurosis.' He ordered the most successful General of his army in Sicily to apologise personally to the two soldiers and then required him to appear before the officers and representative groups of enlisted men of each of the divisions to assure them that he had given way to impulse and respected their position as fighting soldiers of a democratic nation. " All this Patton immediately did." He relentlessly turns down Churchill's pressure for giving up schemes of invasion of France from South-East. He has no hesitation to replace Patton by Bradley and turn down British demand for creating a British Deputy Commander-in-chief. Other books will be written depicting the part that Eisenhower played in World War II. But possibly none of them will be more fascinating and authoritative than this book.

S. B.

GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA*

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I. THEORIES OF ORIGIN :

The earliest theories of government are found in the four Vedas—Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda—the Brahmanas, the Upanisads, the Mahabharata, and the religious books of the Buddhists and the Jainas.

A. From the *Vedas* we learn that the Gods and demons were fighting, the Gods were defeated, and believed that their defeat was due to the fact that they had no king. Prajapata, the creator, imparted lustre and royal powers to Indra, who rose from the most inferior of the Gods to the most vigorous, strongest and valourous.

The *Vedas* also contain a myth that the Gods and men failed to bring the masses under control, with gentleness, so the Gods created a king in the form of a man out of different attributes, such as beauty, valor, discipline and sacrifice, taken from the different Gods. The necessary firmness of the king to protect the people came from divine sources. The king is the representative of the supreme creator.

B. The *Mahabharata*, one of the two ancient epics, gives the first clear comprehensive and consistent account of Hindu political thought. It is believed to have existed in the second century before Christ ; it is the work of many poets separated by centuries, but later synthesized and edited. Two theories of the origin of government are found :

1. In the Golden Age men used to protect each other righteously, without government, king or ruler. Soon error crept in, virtues declined, righteousness disappeared. The Gods called upon Visnu for protection and advice. He created a son named Virajas who was made ruler of the world.

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All was well until Vena, one of his descendants, became a slave to his passions. The Gods intervened again, and the kingship was entrusted to Vena's son, Prithu, who was charged to discipline himself, maintain and enforce the Vedic religion and precepts, persevere in righteousness, and look at all creatures with an equal eye, and never act from caprice.

2. In the early days the people lived in a period of terrible anarchy. Men dined on one another like fish. The people made pacts among themselves to cast off those who were harsh in speech, violent in temper, robbed, etc. After a time they found the need for a king. They asked the Divine Lord to appoint someone. He appointed Manu who was reluctant to accept until the people promised him crops, animals, metals, maidens, warriors, and riders. When Manu assumed the kingship the people were struck with fear. He toured the world, extinguished wickedness and set every one to his duty.

C. The *Buddhist* tradition of the origin of government is much the same. With the beginning of the earth and the transfer from ethereal life, purity declined and rottenness began. The people decided to choose the largest, finest-looking, handsomest, strongest man to be lord of their fields and to punish those who deserve it, receiving in return a portion of their produce. He was named Protector of the Fields of Kshatriya, and was called King. The position developed from need and expediency.

D. Under the *Jaina* theories found in the Adi Puranas, man progressed through cycles from the blissful state when Kalpa-trees furnished all their needs—light, clothes, food, etc.—to the beginning of earth when Kalpa-trees began to diminish and people fought over them. The last of the patriarchs taught the people how to live in the new world, occupations were established, castes instituted and men assigned to them. (Kshatriyas, Viasyas, and Sudras). The patriarch planned villages and towns, grouping them into circles of 800, 400 and 200. He divided the earth among four kings and placed 1000 monarchs under each of them.

Whatever the origin of government may have been we do know that it was closely related to the religious life of the people, that

religion continued to play an important part in political thought, that there was no distinction between society and state, and that the allegiance of the people was to society as a whole. It is probable that government organization passed through the stages of family, clan, and tribe to the state as the need arose for protection and maintenance of internal order.

These states varied in size, but none was large. Each had its own system of government, oligarchies, republics, and monarchies, but the most common form was under a king. As history progressed some of the smaller states were conquerred by the larger ones or by outside forces and others voluntarily merged for military protection against aggressors. Popular forms of government had to be forfeited with the increase in the size of the states.

II. The King:

In Vedic times kingship was often an elective office. By the time of the Mahabharata it was filled by succession of the eldest son of the last ruler, but there was usually a formal offer by the people. Exceptions to the hereditary principle were sometimes made when the next heir was not considerable for such reasons as health, physical condition, or need for a stronger ruler in time of war. In cases of disputed succession the ministers made the choice or the kingdom was partitioned and two dynasties set up.

Succession was limited to males, but queens did reign in Kashmir and Ceylon, following the death of their kings.

Kings usually belonged to the Kshatriya caste, but there is record of some who belonged to the other castes.

The chief function of the king was to render protection. The people for their part must obey the king and contribute to his financial and economic well-being.

The powers of the king were limited; the law (Dharma) was supreme. From the Vedas we learn that the law is the truth, morality, austerity, charity and purity, and proceeds from the will of the Creator. The king could only give instruction in or interpret the law.

According to the *Mahabharata* the duties of the king were

(*a*) to please the people

(*b*) to protect them as a mother to her offsprings

(*c*) to seek their welfare,

(*d*) to see that everyone performs his function and adheres to his duty;

(*e*) to punish wrongdoers ;

(*f*) to practice the virtues of promptitude, energy, truthfulness, self-restraint, humility, righteousness, fortitude and compassion.

Officers of the state were appointed and removed by the king. Justice was carried out in his name ; sometimes he presided over the court. He had the power to issue royal edicts although he did not have the power of legislation. Legislation was contained in Dharma. He was supreme commander of the military forces, and often personally led his armies to battle.

The Mahabharata also contains thirty-six principles for the guidance of the king which read like a set of golden rules.

A timetable for the use of the king's time was suggested by Kautilya. His time was to be spent in devotion to his people.

III. The Priests :

All political theories of India recognize the caste system but the Buddhists are not willing to accord the Brahmans the high position recognized in the Vedas and the Mahabharata. Rather, they placed the Kshatriyas higher than the Brahmans. The Jainas do not recognize divine creation of castes but believe that they were created by the lords to meet the needs of life.

The *Vedics* prescribe that the kingly and priestly powers must supplement each other and must operate in concord. The Brahmans enjoyed the protection of the Gods and were independent of the government and exempt from taxation. With a Brahman at the head the king was strong ; but the king who injured a Brahman went to ruin.

The Mahabharata also prescribes that the priestly and political powers must work in harmony. The king must respect the Brahmans, for the " great intelligence " and " sound counsels " of the well-born Brahman " guide the king in every matter and lead him to prosperity. Without this harmony there is only the prospect of ruin. The Brahmans were not to run the government, but only to advise. They must be well cared for and in return would protect the king.

Manu believed the priests should be consulted before any enterprise was undertaken, and that their meetings should take place in a lonely, silent place where none could hear.

The *Buddhists* denied caste privileges, and, of course had no place for the Brahman as a special class. The King was required to

lead the people by example, as a righteous, upright, truthful, and incorruptible person.

Under *Jaina* theory of caste, the Brahman class was formed by the selection of persons from each of the other three castes. Birth did not confer superiority and Brahmans as a class were not to be respected or exempt from taxes, except that the Jain Brahmans had all the privileges conferred by other theories. (Adi Purana).

IV. Assemblies and Councils :

In the early days, in northern India, assemblies of the people were held for the election of a king and for the discussion of state business. As the size of the state increased popular assemblies were abandoned, and Councils took their place. The members were the crown prince, ministers, high officials, the commander in chief, the king's relatives, subject rulers, nobles, and other persons invited to attend. Councils of Ministers were utilized for discussion of important administrative actions. From Kautilya's Arthasastra we learn that council meetings were closed sessions, that the king met with his ministers individually and collectively, choosing those best fitted to discuss a particular matter, and obtaining the opinions of all.

In Southern India, in the first and second centuries before Christ, there were five assemblies: representatives of the people from all states, priests, physicians, astrologers, and ministers.

V. Ministers.:

The number of ministers in a kingdom apparently varied.

Manu believed there should be seven or eight. There might however, be as many as twelve including a priest, ambassador, and heads of departments.

The *Mahabharata* prescribes seven: commander of forces, the second in command, governor of the citadel, chief of prisons, judge, physician, and astrologer. It further declares that each caste shall be represented—four Brahmans, three Kshatriyas, twenty-one Vaisyas, three Sudras and one Suta.

Other theorists prescribed sixteen to twenty. *Kautilya* believed there should be as many as needed. Kautilya also mentions 1000 sages forming an assembly of ministers who should be the eyes of the king and also called for consultation.

With the exception of these 1000 sages, each minister managed a department, or a particular function, and in addition constituted a

cabinet of advisors to the king. The powers of the ministers varied depending on the strength or weakness of the king. The Prime Minister was mainly responsible for the good government of the country and during some reigns was more important than the king.

VII. Organisation of the Government

The organization of the government in India varied at different times in history. At the time of Alexander's invasion there was a collection of independent nations. During Chandragupta's reign he governed the whole of northern India and established a strong central government, with provinces, districts, sub-districts, towns and villages under him. Lines of communication were through correspondence and regular inspections. Kautilya advocated a strong system of spies and counterspies, who were undoubtedly used during his period as prime minister under Chandragupta.

The central government was probably established with councillors and priests as advisors, and a group of ministers each supervising a number of departments, with an inspector to co-ordinate the whole. The departments were headed by superintendents who had committees of three or five men to assist them with the administration, and a staff of workers and specialists. Kautilya mentions such departments as the following: Commerce, Forest Produce, Space and Time, Tolls, Slaughterhouse, Prostitutes, Cows, Horses, Elephants, Training of Elephants, Ships, Chariots, Infantry.

A police department was charged with the responsibility of keeping its minister informed on the feelings and conduct of the people as well as the government officials.

VIII. Personnel Administration

Personnel of the government were apparently selected on the basis of their general and special qualifications for a particular assignment, and appeared to be well paid for their efforts, either in cash or kind, or both. There was evidence of probationary periods before permanent appointments were made, training on the job, a promotion system, and a pension plan.

IX. Legislation

In olden times there were no legislatures as they are known today. A group of ten Brahmans "learned in the Vedas, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness," constituted a Parishat which

was used to declare and interpret law. The "law" was contained in the Vedas, the Smriti works, which were later superseded by the Dharmasastras and are the chief basis of legal law, and custom. In the process of interpretation the laws gradually underwent modification in keeping with the circumstances of the time. To supplement the basic law the king had authority to issue ordinances and edicts, such as those which Asoka caused to be printed on the rocks and monuments throughout his kingdom.

X. Justice

A system of courts existed, consisting of the following:

A. The King's Court.

This was held at the capital. It consisted of a Chief Justice and three to six justices who also acted as jurors. The sessions were presided over by the king or his Chief Justice. Final decision rested with the Chief Justice. The persons attending the court session were permitted to participate.

B. Principal Courts.

These were held at the principal centres and the larger towns forming the headquarters for the districts and sub-districts.

C. Village Courts.

These were composed of the headman and elders of the village.

All courts tried civil and criminal cases. The higher courts had appelate jurisdiction over the lower courts. The village courts tried minor cases, the principal courts tried cases arising within the boundaries of the town and the more important cases of the neighbouring villages. The King's Court tried cases arising within the boundaries of the capital.

D. Administrative Courts.

These were presided over by three officers of the state and dealt with cases affecting the interest of the community and government.

The work of the courts was supplemented by arbitration by guilds and artisans, assemblies of co-habitants, meetings of religious sects, and other groups authorized by the king, which might first try to settle cases without appeal to the courts.

Law was administered in accordance with Sacred Law, Secular Law, Custom, and Royal Commands, in this order of preference. (This is the same as the Vedas, Dharmasastras, customs, and royal edicts mentioned under Legislation above.) When there was dis-

agreement between Sacred and Secular Law, Sacred Law was supreme. When there was disagreement between Sacred Law and Custom, Custom should prevail.

The courts met once or twice a day, and trials were open to the public.

The procedure followed was :

(*a*) statement by the plaintiff
(*b*) reply by the defendant
(c) trial
(*d*) decision.

Witnesses were used under oath, documentary evidence was required.

In controversial criminal cases the "ordeal" was the divine test. There were four kinds of ordeals: balance, fire, water, and poison. In the water test the accused was placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. If he sank he was guilty; if the stone sank the accused was innocent. These tests fortunately became obsolete.

The punishments for criminal cases were fine, imprisonment, whipping, physical torture, banishment, condemnation to work in the mines, and death, corresponding to the nature of the offence.

All persons received the protection of the courts, but the extent of punishment was related to caste status.

Justices guilty of negligence in the administration of justice were also subject to punishment.

XI. Finance

The amount and means of revenue accruing to the government of ancient India increased and changed even as the country grew and developed. It might have begun with voluntary coutributions as stated in the theories advanced on the origin of kingship, but compulsory taxation became necessary later. In early times it was in the form of produce, flowers, herbs, firewood; later, with the growth of commerce, duties were levied. Kautilya mentions the following sources of revenue at a later period :

Tax Revenue	Non-tax Revenue
fixed taxes	Agriculture produce of crown lands
1/6 produce	sale of grains
provisions for army	grains by special requests
religious taxes	gains from trade and commerce

tributes from subordinate rulers
forced benevolences
royalties
compensations, presents, rents of public buildings
interest on capital
profits on manufactures undertaken by the State

Also, escheats, fines, confiscations, and forfeitures of the property of rebels. The land tax was the most important source of revenue.

Taxes were paid in cash or kind, or both. Persons who lived by their labor gave their labor free to the State for one day in every month in lieu of taxes.

Brahmans, women, minors, students, blind, deaf, dumb, and diseased persons, and those to whom property was forbidden, were exempt from taxes. The tax system was based on ability to pay.

The chief items of expenditure, according to Kautilya, were sacrifices, worship of ancestors, charity, expenses of the royal household, civil government, foreign missions, army, public works, and preservation of forests.

The chief officials of the Department of Finance were the Collector General and the Treasurer General. The villages were classified according to their sources of revenue (gold, kind, soldiers, labor). Budgets were drawn up, balances required, accounts maintained and audited ragularly, and reports submitted to the cabinet of ministers.

XII. Foreign Relations

Foreign relations played an important part in ancient India since there was always the danger of aggression from States within the country as well as from other powers. Alliances were made by means of treaties for the purpose of defence chiefly, but also for the acquisition of territory and to make war on others. Envoys, ambassadors, charges-d'-affairs, and conveyors with different levels of responsibility were assigned to other states to acquaint themselves with affairs of the country, particularly the military strength. During the reign of Chandragupta an envoy from an outside power resided in India, which probably marked the beginning of foreign relations outside the country. With a few exceptions, aggressive warfare by Indian powers was confined to states within the country, though attacks were made on India by outside powers.

Kautilya devotes a chapter in his Arthasastra to the conduct of an envoy and his method of gathering information. The work of the envoy is to be checked by "country-envoys, spies and visible and

invisible watchmen." There is strong evidence that neither powers nor men were to be trusted.

XIII. Military

The commitment of the king to protect his people coupled with the constant fear of aggression, placed the military branch of the government in a strategic position.

The chief officials during the Mauryan Empire were the commander in chief, four chief commanders in charge of infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots. Under these were subordinate officers and men.

There were systems of rewards and punishments, weapons and armour, regular army forces as well as those drafted for the occasion, forts, ditches, and well developed plans for attack and defence. It is particularly to be noted that it was the policy of at least some ancient war lords not to strike a man who was not able to defend himself, or who had surrendered, and not to wage battle on soil used for cultivation. The conquered people were not to be subjugated, but the king was rather to attempt to improve their social welfare, to adopt their customs, and in general promote good will. The ruler was urged to remain, under the authority of the conquering king. Later history does not show that this policy of good will was always followed.

XIV. Projects of the Government

Among the most important public works of ancient India were the irrigation systems, roads, bridges, flood control, lakes and canals. A great deal of public and private money was spent on the palaces of the kings and in beautifying the city with parks and gardens, and on religious and public buildings.

There is evidence of city planning in the construction of private houses as well as public buildings. Definite patterns were developed for the larger cities and for the villages. There was plenty of opportunity for display of architectural and artistic ability.

Private construction of canals, etc., was encouraged by tax and rent remittances.

The Agricultural Department was responsible for research and development of improved methods, improved seeds, weather forecasting, supervision of state lands, dairy farming, and forest preservation.

Other projects included exploiting mines, exploration of new mines, treatment and manufacture of metals, manufacture of salt and

brewing liquors, supervision of weaving, regulation of production, regulation of trade and commerce through improvement of harbors, roads and waterways, taxation, encouragement of imports, price fixing, prevention of adulteration of goods, etc.

XV. Efficiency of Government

There is strong evidence in the writings of political theorists that careful attention was given to qualifications of personnel at all levels of government, and that in general the government was well administered. Recognition of human failings was apparent in the systems for checking on the integrity of staff, and allowances were made for temptation among those having access to public funds.

Looking back on this period of history one cannot help but be impressed with the similarity of their practices of administration with those in use today. It would appear that as far back as the fourth century before Christ the foundations of good administration were laid, and are the basis on which men in public administration are still trying to build efficient government today.

A PHASE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

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It is a well-known fact of history that attacked by the Yueh-chi, a branch of the Sakas, who inhabited the inhospitable regions of Central Asia, moved south and took shelter in *Ki-pin* while the rest of the tribe migrated to the west and ultimately entered India through the Bolan or Mulla Pass in the Brahui mountains.[1] The account of the encyclopadaeist Ma-twan-lin, however, seems to indicate that the "*Sai-wang*" came to *Ki-pin* from Ta-hia or Bactria. Thus it states that "in ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yueh-chi, the latter went to the west to dwell in Ta-hia, and the *Sai-wang* went southwards to live in *Ki-pin*. The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed so as to form here and there different kingdoms." The Han Annals, on the contrary, definitely inform us that the Yueh-chi dispersed the *Sai-wang* before they came to Ta-hia. Levi warns us against relying too much on Ma-twan-lin's account, as it is extremly condensed and wrong in several particulars.

But what may be the possible source of Ma-twan-lin's mistake? From the classical writers we learn that a branch of the Saka people—*Sacarauli* in this particular instance—caused the downfall of the Greek kingdom in Bactria along with several other tribes. Thus Strabo tells us that "the best known of the nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria—the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli."[2] Trogus, however, simply states that "the *Saraucae* and the Asiani seized Bactria and Sogdiana."[3] Trogus' account has been criticised by some scholars who think that it generally suffers from the combined errors of two persons—Trogus Pompeius and Justin who epitomised the account, plus the copyist's mistake. At many points the account is very compressed, but in this particular case, as pointed out by Tarn, Debevoise and others, it is more reliable than Strabo. While there is no doubt that the *Sacarauli* is identical

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 565 ff; La Valle Povssin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares*, pp. 262 ff; Chavannes, "*Les pays d'Occident d'apres le Heou Han Chou*," Toung Pao, 1907, pp. 149-234; Raychaudhury, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, pp. 358 ff.

[2] *Strabo*, XI, 5, 11.

[3] *Trogus*, 41-42; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 459.

with the *Saraucae*, the Asii, the Pasiani and the Tochari of Strabo appear to be one and the same people and identical with the Asiani of Trogus. Trogus informs us that the Asiani were the Kings of the Tochari. From this it appears that the Asiani was a tribe of the Tochari clan, just as the Licchavis of India were the ruling tribe of the Vajjian clan of Vaiśāli. Pasiani is evidently a copyists' duplication for Asiani, and the identity of the Asii and the Asiani was recognised long ago The correctness of Trogus' account is evident.

A statement in Pliny indicates that the Tocharians at one time dwelt much further to the east, a region which roughly corresponds to modern Kashgaria.[1] The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang states in his *Si-yu-ki*, XII. 23, that he went eastward from Khotan and passed through the kingdom of Du-hu-lo or Tukhara, *i.e.*, the Tocharians. It is further stated that the town had long since been deserted and the buildings were in ruins. Sir A. Stein in his *Serindia*, Vol. I, p. 287 states, while describing the remains of the Endere site, that the area which the Chinese traveller saw in a ruined state must have been occupied down to the third or fourth century of the Christian era. It follows, therefore, that the abandonment of the site could have nothing to do with the supposed emigration of the Tochari from this tract to Bactria some eight centuries before the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. As Stein points out the Chinese traveller must have seen the ruins of the buildings of the Ephthalites who had their chief seat in Tokharistan on the Oxus, and Yuan Chwang "refers to them and their predecessor in the rule of this region, the Great or Ta-Yueh-chi, when he describes the various chiefships in Bactria and Badakhasana as having once formed part of the great kingdom of the Tu-hu-lo or Tukhara."

There are weighty reasons, indeed, for supposing that the Ta-Yueh-chi of the Chinese are the same as the Tochari of Strabo. We learn from the Chinese writers that the Yueh-chi moved westwards and settled in the territory of Ta-hia or Bactria, after their defeat by the Wu-sun prince.[2] Speaking of the people of Bactria, Ptolemy mentions the Tocharians, "a great people."[3] It is

[1] *Pliny*, VI. 7, 20.

[2] Wylie, "*History of the Heung-noo in Their Relations with China*," Journal of the Anthrop. Inst. 1874, pp. 401-51; 1876, pp. 41-80; Wylie, "*Notes on the Western Region*," *ibid.*, 1881, pp. 20-73; 1882, pp. 83-115; Hirth., *China and the Roman Orient*; Kingsmill, *The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkistan and the Adjacent countries, etc.*," J.R.A.S., 1882, pp 74-104; Parker, "*Chinese knowledge of Early Persia*," Asiatic Quarterly Review, XV, 3rd Ser., 1903, pp. 114-89; Chavannes, "*Les Memoires de Se-ma-Tsien*," Introduction.

[3] Ptolemy, ed. McCrindle, p. 268.

acknowledged on all hands that about the time of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.), Bactria was under the rule of the Yueh-chi=the Tocharians, and hence these "Tocharians" are evidently spoken of as the "great people." At the time of Chang-kien's *visit* in 126 B.C., they were already established in Ta-hia.[1] Levi points out that this identification is also supported by the Chinese sources. A Chinese Buddhist sūtra predicts the simultaneous domination of the Ya-pa-no (Yavana) in the north, the Chi-kia (Śaka) in the south, the Po-la-po (Pahlava) in the west, and the Ti-an-cha-lo (Tocharis or Tukharas) in the east. A study of the vibhāṣā in Nanjio's Catalogue, no. 1085, suggests the equation, Tochari=Yueh-chi=Yeou-kiu-li.[2]

Trogus makes the significant statement that the conquest of Bactria was effected by the Asiani, who were the kings of the Tochari. The Asiani has consequently been identified with the "Kuṣāṇas." But there is hardly any ground for such a theory. According to the Hou-Han-shu, the Yueh-chi, vanquished by the Hiung-nu, went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among the five *Hi-h(e)-ou* or *Yabgaus*. Chavannes opines that these *Yabgaus* probably ruled over the different clans into which the Yueh-chi tribe was divided at that time. More than hundred years after that, the *Yabgau* of the *Kouei-chouang* (Kuṣāṇa) named *K'ieou-tsieou-kio* attacked and vanquished the other four *Yabgaus* and called himself King (*wang*).[3] The Asiani may be the name of the family of the leader who led the Yueh-chi into Bactria, or the name of the particular tribe of the clan who took the lead in this expedition.

Thus according to the Classical writers, the inroads of the Śakas (Sacarauli) and the Yueh-chi caused the downfall of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. But the two cannot have taken place simultaneously. We are told that while under the pressure of the Yueh-chi, the *Sai-wang* went south and settled in *Ki-pin* in India, the Śakas "were scattered and at times formed several kingdoms." It was evidently at this time that a particular branch of the Śakas =*Sucarauli* entered Bactria. The Yueh-chi occupied the old kingdom of the Śakas in Central Asia till they were ousted by the Wu-sun and marched to Bactria whence they expelled the Śakas who had

[1] Hirth, "*Story of Chang-kien*," or a translation of *Ch. 123 of Tsu-ma-t'sien's Shi-ki*, *J.A.O.S.*, 1917, pp. 89-152.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p 423; 1906, pp. 33, 47; *J.A.*, 1883, II, pp. 324 ff; 1890, I, pp. 180ff; 1897, II, p. 152; 1900, I, pp. 526 ff.

[3] Chavannes, "*Les pays d'Occident d'apres le Heou Han Chou*," *Toung Pao*, 2 ser., VIII (1907), pp. 190-92.

taken shelter there after having been driven out from their earlier home.[1]

We now proceed to discuss the question with which we started *viz.*, why does Ma-twan-lin makes the mistake of supposing that the Śakas came to *Ki-pin* from Ta-hia or Bactria? The encyclopadaeist had probably access to documents descriptive of three distinct events—(*a*) "the Śakas went to *Ki-pin*;" (*b*) "the Śakas went to Ta-hia;" and (*c*) "the Yueh-chi went to Ta-hia." Ma-twan-lin evidently has combined these three separate episodes into one without due regard to their mutual interrelation, thus originating a serious confusion.

Under the pressure of the Śakas and the Yueh-chi inroads, as already stated, the Greek power lost Bactriana. When the Yueh-chi invaded Bactriana, the Śakas had already been in possession, at least a part of it. The coming of the Yueh-chi afresh naturally caused a great commotion among the Śakas who were forced to leave this region and search for a new habitation again. The political condition of this part of Asia is thus described in the *Report* of Chang-Kien, c. 126 B.C.....

"North of this country (Ta-yuan=Ferghana) is Kang-ku (Sogdiana); in the west are the Ta-Yueh-chi; in the south-west is Ta-hia (Bactria); in the north-west are the Wu-sun; and in the east Han-mi and Wu-tien (Khotan)."[2]

The same *Report* states elsewhere that when the Yueh-chi were beaten by the Hiung-nu "they fled to a distant country and crossed to the west of Yuan, attacked Ta-hia and conquered it. Subsequently, they had their capital in the north of the Kui-shui (Oxus) and made it the court of their king.[3]

Thus the *Report* shows that in about 126 B.C., there was no remnant of Śaka power either in Bactriana or in Sogdiana. Tarn, however, proposes to identify the Kang-ku mentioned in the above *Report* with the *Sacarauli* and thinks that they were a branch of the vast Śaka horde. who remained in Sogdiana after the Yueh-chi conquered Ta-hia, while many other Śaka groups went still further

[1] Regarding the earlier home of the Śakas, the *T'sien-Han-shu*. Ch. 96 A, fol. 10 V, gives the following account: "The race of the Sok has extended far and formed a series of states. From Shu-le to the north-west, all belonging to the states Hiu-shu and Kun-tu are old tribes of the Sok." Remusat, *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques*, I. p. 205. Prof. F. W. Thomas' theory that the home of the Śakas who entered India was in Seistan (*J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 181 ff) is rejected by Konow, *Corpus*. II. i. xviii, *Pavri Memorial Volume*. pp. 220 ff).

[2] *Shi-ki*, 123, 2*a*; *J.A.O.S.*, 37, p. 95.

[3] *Shi-ki*, 123, 29.

to the west and south-west.[1] But is it difficult to accept the proposed identification, as it is almost impossible to equate Kang-ku with any of the tribal Saka names mentioned by the Classical authors. Besides Strabo and Ptolemy speak of conditions in Sogdiana at a time when the Kang-ku had already secured control over a large part of this region. If they were connected with the Sakas, the Classical writer would have referred to them in their account of the Saka tribe.

We are thus led to believe that pressed by the Yueh-chi in Bactriana, the Sakas had to move to the west and south-west, where they came into contact with the Parthian empire.[2] This exodus naturally followed the two main branches of the great road from Bactriana, one leading to Mesopotamia through Merv, Hecatompylos, and Ecbatana, and the other through Merv, Herat and Seistan to India.[3]

Thus as a result of the Yueh-chi pressure, the Saka tribe became divided into three branches; (a) the Sakas or the *Sai-wang* who went to *Ki-pin*; (b) the Sakas who advanced west-ward through the Mesopotamian route; (c) the Sakas who took the road to India and for a time settled in Seistan.

Klaproth and following him several other scholars think that the Hunish King *Chi-yu's* campaign against the Yueh-chi took place in c. 165 B.C., and this date has consequently been taken as marking the beginning of the Yueh-chi migration to the west.[4] But as a matter of fact the Chinese records do not mention any date for the event but simply state that it occurred sometimes in Chi-yu's reign (*cf. Shi-ki, 123*), which, we know, extended from B.C. 174 to B.C. 161. At the time of Chang-Kien's visit to Central Asia in c. 126 B.C. the Yueh-chi were already in possession of Ta-hia or Bactria. So sometime before 126 B.C., the Yueh-chi must have dislodged the *Sai-wang* and forced them to *Ki-pin* in the south. This event occurred, however, before the defeat of the Yueh-chi themselves by the Wu-sun which, according to the Chinese annals, did not take place until after *Chi-yu's* death *i.e.*, after 161 B.C.

These are some of the data for fixing the vexed chronology of the period. They are doubtless useful and yield fairly correct results. *Chiyu's* reign extended from 174 to 161 B.C. During the first part

[1] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 582. In his "*Seleucid Parthian Studies*," Proceedings of the British Academy, XVI, 1930, p. 112, Tarn states: "The Kang-ku were probably a mixed horde, the Sacaraucie being the largest element."

[2] *Justin*, xlii. 1. 1.; Debevoise. *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 31, 35-39, 58.

[3] Tarn, "*Seleucid Parthian Studies*," Proceedings of the British Academy, 1930, pp 117 ff.

[4] Klaproth. '*Tableaux Historiques de la Asia*," p. 132; Smith in *J.R.A.S*, 1903, p. 19.

of his rule, he was engaged in negotiations with the Chinese throne, and it was after he was free of any danger from the east that he could turn his attention to the Yueh-chi in the west. His negotiations with the "*Celestial Empire*" must have taken some time, and so, after Klaproth, we can take c.B.C. 165 as the approximate date of his campaign against the Yueh-chi. It was about the same time that the Wu-sun king was killed and his son began to grow up as a page-boy in the Hunnish court. An interval of 20 years may be allowed before the Wu-sun prince grew up and avenged the death of his father, and forced the Yueh-chi further to the west. Working on this hypothesis, we may hold tentatively that the *Sai-wang* moved to *Ki-pin* sometime between B.C. 165 and 145.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Indian Historical Quarterly, 1929, pp. 56 ff.

MM. DR. SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSAN

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M. A., D.LITT. (PARIS)

University of Calcutta.

V

"Prof. Vidyabhusan was the very first amongst scholars to steer the path of researches into Buddhist[1] sources."[2] Failing to obtain the materials of Buddhist Logic from any Sanskrit work, available in this country, he turned to works written in languages with which Buddhism[3] was associated. He learnt Pali, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, etc., and did much for the revival of interest in Buddhism. He concentrated on Pali and Tibetan—the two languages in which most of the literature on Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism[4] respectively had been written.

Pali, the language in which Lord Buddha is supposed to have preached his doctrine, was not to be learnt in India.[5] To study Pali and Buddhism, scholars used to go to Ceylon. From that island and Burma some Sramans (Members of the Buddhist Order) came to this

[1] Vide his :—1. Buddhadev (1904).
2. Life of Lord Buddha (Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1900).

[2] Prof. Nripendra Ch. Bannerjee (Calcutta Review, October, 1946).

[3] Vide his :—
1. Buddhism in India (J.B.T.S., 1896).
2. Do. (J.M.B.S., 1901).
3. Bauddha-dharma (Bharati, 1902).
4. Bauddha-dharma (Nabya-bharat, 1902).
5. Bauddha-darshan : a series of articles on the "Metaphysical Basket" of the Buddhist scripture (Sahitya-sambita, 1902).
6. Synopsis of the duties of a Buddhist according to Bodhicaryavrata (J.B.T.S., vii, 4).
7. Analysis of Santideva's Bodhicaryavrata (Bharati 1899).

[4] Vide his :—
1. Mahayana and Hinayana (J.R.A.S., January, 1910)
2. Bauddha-dharma—Mahayana and Hinayana (Sahitya-samhita, 1902. পৌষ ও মাঘ, ১৩০৯)
3. Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism (JMBS, 1902).

[5] Vide his :—
1. History of Pali language (Indian Mirror, 1900).
2. Brief history of Pali language (Nabyabharat, 1900),
3. 'Anuruddha Thera (a learned Pali author of South India in the 12th century A.D., who was born at Kanchi and whose chief work was done at Tanjore and Tinnevelly)'—Journals and proceedings of A.S.B. This paper shows that Buddhism lingered in the great cities of South India as late as the 12th century A.D. and that Pali used to be studied even upto that time.

country in 1893. From them Prof. Vidyabhusan acquired a thorough knowledge of Pali, and learnt Sinhalese and Burmese also. Later, in 1901, he took M.A. Examination in Pali—an examination at which none from India, Burma, Ceylon, Beluchistan, etc., appeared prior to, or with, him.[1] He stood first in class I, and won a gold medal and the first prize.[2] Subsequently, he introduced the study of Pali into the curriculum of the University,[3] became its lecturer and did much to popularize that language.

His knowledge of Pali presented before him an ocean of Buddhist literature, and he took a deep plunge into it. On account of his mastery over Buddhist literature, his services were lent by the Government of Bengal in 1893 to the Buddhist Text (and Anthropological) Society founded in the same year. He became the Joint-Editor of the journal of the Society along with Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, and edited a large number of Pali texts. He contributed articles to[4] this journal and to various others. Through some

[1] Mr. C. W. Tawney (Librarian, India Office, London) and Dr. E. B. Cowell (Professor of Cambridge) arranged with the renowned Pali Scholar Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids to conduct this Examination. Later Prof. Vidyabhusan wrote on Rhys David's "Buddhist India' in Dawn, (April, 1904).

[2] "He also won the golden encomium from Dr. Rhys Davids for the excellent quality of his answers" (Bengalee. 27th April, 1920), his attainment being praised by Dr. Rhys Davids in his letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University. Lord Curzon. the then Chancellor of the Calcutta University, highly praised Prof. Vidyabhusan in his Convocation address. In an exclusive interview, Lord Curzon signified his desire to Prof. Vidyabhusan to send him to London for higher studies in Pali; but as his mother was seriously ill, Prof. Vidyabhusan was unable to comply with the Viceroy's request. Later, he completed his Pali studies in Ceylon.

[3] For this purpose he wrote :—

1. Balavatara, with an English translation (published by Calcutta University).
2. Kacchayana's Pali Grammar (1901); The principal Grammar in Pali language, with author's introduction, dealing with questions such as art of writing in India; history of Grammatical literature of ancient India : history of Pali language, literature and grammar, etc. It was thus for the first time edited in Debnagri character with a clear and elegant English translation so as to make the subject interesting to all; copious notes and commentaries to elucidate the subject are given. The book contains the alphabets of Burmese, Siamese and Sinhalese languages, with their Sanskrit and English equivalents which give the readers an opportunity to learn these languages.

Prof. James Gray (Prof. of Pali, Rangoon College) wrote :—"Very creditable undertaking. Your exposition is all that could be desired. Valuable hand-book. I shall be glad to hear that the work is widely appreciated as it deserves to be."

Bengalee : "Value of the book cannot be too highly estimated. Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan is a practical educationist; his method of treatment is unique, and we have no doubt that scholars of Pali will find in the Grammar a safe key to unlock the beauties and mysteries of Pali language."

[4] Vide his :—

1. World, pain and emancipation (Nabya-bharat, 1895).
2. Existence, immortality and transmigration of soul (Nabya-bharat, 1895).
3. Theory of soul according to Western Philosophers (Kalpa, 1896).
4. Hindu theory of re-birth (Nabya bharat, 1896).
5. Brief survey of Hindu philosophical doctrines of Salvation (J.B.T.S., iv. 1).
6. Buddhist doctrine of Ego or the Soul (J.B.T.S., vi, 3).
7. Law of Karma (J.B.T.S:, 1899).
8. Fruits of Karma (Rishi, 1899).

articles[1] published mainly in the journal of R.T.S. (1895-1900), he made known to Europe the doctrine of Madhyamika philosophy, propounded by the Buddhist logician Nagarjuna.

"His writings at once attracted the attention of the scholars of his own country and also of the West, and were highly appreciated and enthusiastically spoken of not only by the academic circles of India but also by the learned societies of Europe, America and Japan. He received numerous letters of felicitation from the great oriental societies of England, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, etc."[2] and from notable scholars[3] like Sonart,

[1] Vide his :—

1. Nagarjuna (J.M.B.S., 1902) : "Your contributions to the life of Nagarjuna is very new and useful "—Louis Dela Vallee Poussin.
2. Madhyamika School of Buddhist Philosophy (or the middle path doctrine of Nagarjuna)—history and account.
3. Madhyamika School of Buddhist Philosophy, together with a short sketch of the leading Indian Schools of philosophy.
4. Madhyamika aphorisms (Examination of sense-organs; of skandhas, the five aggregates of being or existence; of the elements; of the Samskaras, origination, continuance and extinction, etc.).
5. Buddhist Doctrine of middle path (Proceedings of A.S.B. 1904).
6. Brahminic references to Madhyamika School of Buddhist Philosophy (J.B.T.S. iii, 2).
7. Brahminic references to Madhyamika School of Buddhist (J.R.A.S., 1911).
8. A descriptive list of works on Madhyamika philosophy—I (J.A.S.B., 1908) This paper (written after his study of Tibetan) gives a short account of Tibetan versions of 27 works on Madhyamika Philosophy, Sanskrit originals of which (with one exception) appear to have long been lost. The Tibetan versions are included in the Tangyur, which Prof. Vidyabhusan examined while residing at the Monastery at Labrang. They include the works on Arya Nagarjuna, Arya Deva and Buddha Palita, besides those of teacher Bhavya, who criticised his contemporaneous systems of Hindu Philosophy, *viz.*, Yoga, Sankhya, Vaisesika, Vedanta and Mimansa. These works, which have not been noticed elsewhere, throw a good deal of light on the history of Indian Philosophy.
9. Nirvana (J.B.T.S., vi, 1).

[2] Devalaya Review, 1920, Vol. III, No. 8, p. 106.

[3] 1. The letter of Rt. Hon'ble F. M. Maxmuller to Prof. Vidyabhusan :—

The 22nd January, 1899.

Dear Sir,

Your articles on M. Philosophy were full of interest to me; but you may imagine what a disappointment it is when the numbers of your journal suddenly stop in the midst of a most interesting topic. The number IV, 2, 3, 4 have never reached me and I shall feel much obliged if you would send them to me. I need not tell you that I read what you gave us of the M. Sutras with the greatest interest. We have no Mss. in England of these Sutras and they were just new to me.

You should certainly publish your articles on the M. Sutras as a complete edition. Your article on 'Nirvana' too is excellent, exhaustive and reflects the greatest credit on your scholarship. You have great advantages in India, and I am glad to see that you know how to avail yourself of them. With best thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely, etc.

Winternitz, Oldenberg, J. Takakusu, T. Suzuki, Prof. Ui, Dr. Sten Kanow of Christiana (Norway). Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University, E. J. Sherbatski, Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Dr. Sylvain Levi and many others (the two gentlemen named last visiting his house during their stay in Calcutta). "He became an international figure in whom the four quarters of the world met. His writings raised the Indian culture to the highest esteem."[1]

Making a particular mention of the Article No. 2, on Madhyamika

2. Louis de la Vallee Poussin's letter to Prof. Vidyabhusan :—

Wettern. Ghent, Belgium,
The 19th February, 1899.

Dear Sir,

I have read with much pleasure and profit your translation of M. Sutras with extracts of the Tika of Chandra Kirtti; and it is a pity if your intention of publishing this translation in a complete volume does prevent you from publishing the same work in the journal. I hope your work shall promptly come out; and nobody will read it with more attention than myself.

Your article on 'Nirvana' is one of the best essays on the subject. You quote so many authorities which were unknown to every oriental scholar.

Believe me, Dear Sir, Yours V. faithfully, etc.

P.S.—I send to you my 'Buddhism' by the same mail. I hope you will be so kind as to detect to me all the misprints and errors of any sort.

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3. The letter of A. Barth (of Paris) to Prof. Vidyabhusan :—

Your interpretation is parfectly right. Your edition of the M. Vritti looks very promising; and I cannot but instantly beseech you to publish it as soon as possible.

Believe me, Dear Sir, Yours V. truly, etc.

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4. Louis de la Vallee Poussin's letter to Dr. Rhys Davids :—

The 7th January, 1901.

Dear Mr. Rhys Davids,

Several months ago, I invited my friend Prof. Vidyabhusan—whose essays are eulogised in the last bulletin of M. Barth—to collect the numerous references to Buddhist sayings or tenets, scattered in the treatises of Uddyotkara, Udayana, Vachaspati Misra, and others. I heard from the Pandita that just at the same time he had been urged by yourself to devote himself to that work. A few weeks ago, he sent me copious materials; their publication will, no doubt, prove itself a contribution of some importance to our knowledge of the great schools of the Mahayana Philosophy and of the polemical adherents of the Darsanas.

We shall publish in the Museon our own observations and reference to the Bauddha Chapter of Sarva-darsana-Samgraha . . . Two discoveries of Prof. Vidyabhusan deserve actual notice in a more conspicuous journal, etc.

N. B.—Vide Prof. Vidyabhusan's :—(*i*) Uddyotkara, a contemporary of Dharmakirti (ভারতবর্ষ) 1913.

(*ii*) Uddyotkara (JRAS, 1914, July).

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5. The letter of E. Hardy of Wurzburg to Dr. Rhys Davids (dated the 22nd April, 1901) refers to the last letter of Louis de la Vallee Poussin and opines that Prof. Vidyabhusan's view is correct.

[1] From the address by Dr. Beni Madhab Barua, D. Lit at the meeting on 25th anniversary of the death of Prof. Vidyabhusan.

Philosophy, Dr. Rhys Davids wrote to Prof. Vidyabhusan as follows :—

Royal Asiatic Society,
22, Albemarle St., London, W.,
The 13th April, 1899.

Dear Sir,

I have read with much interest the learned papers you were good enough to send me and have them handed over to the Society so that others also may see them.

Your comparisons of Nagarjun's views with those of the later six darshanas are very interesting. I much hope you will publish your work as a book.

I very much hope you will continue your studies in the history of Buddhist Philosophy. The interest in Europe in this matter is increasing rapidly, and I should be glad to propose so eminent a scholar like yourself as a member of this Society. Shall I do?

Yours sincerely, etc.

Thus he was made a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (M.R.A.S.). He was made a Member of the Pali Text Society in London. He was made a Member of the Literary Section of the Mahabodhi Society, thereafter a Member of its Consulting Board and later elected as its Vice-President. Being a pioneer in the field of Buddhistic studies, he was invested with the title of "Tripitaka-Vagiswar."

The materials on Buddhist Logic derived from the Pali source were embodied by him in an article called "Buddhist Version of Nyaya Philosophy', published in 1898 in the J.B.T.S. For full materials on Buddhist Logic, he turned to the Tibetan source.

VI

Along with Pali, Prof. Vidyabhusan acquired a thorough mastery over Tibetan language and literature from Lama Funchhog Wangdan who had come from Lhasa, the capital of Tibet.[1] Later, in 1912 and

[1] He became so profound a scholar in Tibetan that "after his lamentable death the Geshe (Lobzan Targay, Doctor of Theology of the Monastery of Gaden) returned to the land of his birth, as he could not find scholar here with whom he could carry on discussion on equal terms"—(Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Convocation address, dated 18th March, 1923). Prof. Vidyabhusan committed to memory the voluminous works named Kabab-dunden and Serab-dangu. He learnt also Tibetan नीति and Tanta-sastras. *Vide* his :—

1. On certain Tibetan Scrolls and images lately brought from Gyantse (Memoirs of ASB. 1905, Vol. I. No. 1, pp. 1-23). This paper indicates how additional light may be shown on the somewhat obscure problems of the progress of Tantricism by an intelligent study of Tibetan scrolls and images. The existence of Tantra Sastras may thus apparently be traced at least as far back as the 8th century A.D.

1916, he passed with Distinction the Preliminary and Final Examinations respectively in Tibetan held by the Government and carried off the sanctioned prizes on both the occasions. He introduced the study of Tibetan into the Calcutta University,[1] arrangements for its instruction being entrusted to his capable hands ; and in June, 1918, the Senate appointed him an instructor in Tibetan.

On account of his sound knowledge of Tibetan, he was appointed a Tibetan translator to the Government of Bengal, and was deputed by the Government to compile, in collaboration with the late Rai Sarat Ch. Das Bahadur, the great work named Tibetan-English Dictionary.[2] For this purpose, Prof. Vidyabhusan was in Darjeeling from 1897 to 1900, during which period he was also the Superintendent of the Government Secretariat Press there ; and he and the Rai Bahadur produced a series of valuable works which were a new mine of knowledge of inestimable value as a contribution to the study of Indian Philosophy, as has been freely acknowledged in no ambiguous terms by such an exacting scholar as Prof. Max Müller in his treatise

2. Sarvajna-Mitra (Bharati, 1905).

3. Sarvajna-Mitra; a Tantrik Buddhist author of Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. (J.A.S.B., N.S., i).

4. Sragdhara-Stotra—a Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric work of Kashmir. (Bibliotheca Indica Series). " The learned editor Prof. Satischandra Vidyabhusan," said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his lecture in the Asiatic Society on 3rd February, 1909, "has considerably enhanced the value of his edition by the reproduction of a Sanskrit commentary and two Tibetan versions, to which he has added an English translation and an elaborate introduction." Prof. Vidyabhusan's publication of Sragdhara-Stotra with an English version throws considerable light on the Buddhist Tantra literature of the 8th century.

5. Tantric texts and Sankaracharyya.

[1] He wrote :—

1. Tibetan Primer I, by Lama Wangdan, transcribed into Roman characters. Revised and translated by Prof. Vidyabhusan (1902).
2. Tibetan Primer II.

[2] In 1899, the Honble C. W. Bolton, C.S.I. (the Chief Secretary of Bengal) entrusted the revision of the work to Revd. Graham Sandberg and and Rev. A. William Heyde, who wrote :—" The Sanskrit equivalents following each Tibetan term has been supplemented by a well-known Calautta Pundit and Professor Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan who has also considerable acquaintance with literary Tibetan. The same learned Professor has also, in numerous instances, appended a liberal English rendering of the Sanskrit terms."

Vide Prof. Vidyabhusan's :—

1. Amarkosha (the oldest metrical dictionary of Sanskrit language with Tibetan version) : Edited by Dr. Vidyabhusan " who had," said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his lecture in the Asiatic Society, dated 5th February, 1913, " previously brought to light the text of the lexicon itself from the Tibetan sources." (Bibliotheca Indica, Tibetan Series, 1912).

2. Amartika Kamdhenu (a comprehensive, possibly the the oldest, commentary on 10) by a Buddhist sage named Subhuti (Bibliotheca Indica, Tibetan Series, 1912).

3. Nyaya-bindu, a Bilingual index of Sanskrit and Tibetan words (Bibliotheca Indica, Tibetan Series, 1917).

on the 'Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' published in London in 1899. In May, 1900, Prof. Vidyabhusan visited the tomb of the Hungarian Scholar Alexander Ceoma de Koros (1790-1842).[2]

He used to write in famous journals (Such as Calcutta Buddhist Text Series, etc.). The materials on Buddhist Logic derived from the Tibetan literature available here were embodied in his following articles:—

1. Influence of Buddhism on Nyaya Philosophy (Bengalee, 1902).
2. Influence of Buddhism on development of Nyaya Philosophy (J.M.B.S., 1902).
3. Influence of Buddhism on development of Nyaya Philosophy (J.B.T.S., Part III, vi, 3).[3]

VII.

His transfer to Calcutta in 1900 as Professor of Sanskrit College afforded him greater facilities for researches and writings, his activity being mainly on Nyaya, on which he wrote the following articles:—

1. History of Nyaya Philosophy (Nabya Bharat, 1902).
2. Do. (Bharati, 1902).

[1] Prof. Max Müller wrote in the Preface, xxi, of his "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy":—"How much may be done in another direction by students of Tibetan literature in furthering a study of Indian Philosophy has lately been proved by publications of Sarat Ch. Das and Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan, M.A."

In the same book, the same Profesor (Max Müller) writes:—

"Thanks to the labours of Sarat Ch. Das and Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan, we have lately gained access to some of the Sutras of the Buddhist Schools of Philosophy, which are full of interest."

Prof. Vidyabhusan was quoted with approval not only by Max Müller but also by other distinguished professors of the West.

[2] Prof. Vidyabhusan wrote an article on Alexander Koros in 'Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World' (Calcutta, 1902, May). In this connection it may be mentioned that:—

1. Prof. Vidyabhusan and Dr. (later Sir) E. Denison Ross edited (in Memoirs of A.S.B.) Sanskrit-Tibetan-English vocabulary: being an edition and translation of Mahavyutpatti by Alexander Koros. This work is essentially a Buddhist-Sanskrit dictionary of technical and philosophical terms, compiled by Indian Sanskritists, translated into Tibetan by Lamas in the Middle Ages and rendered into English in the beginning of the last century by A. Koros.

2. Prof. Vidyabhusan and Dr. E. D. Ross edited Mahavyutpatti (in the Bibliotheca Indica Series) in Sanskrit, Tibetan and English.

[3] Some of his writings during this period:—

(1) Panca-Kantha (Nabya Bharat, 1897).
(2) Notes on Dhammapada (Nabya Bharat, 1899): Prof. Vidyabhusan wrote also an introduction to 'Dhammapadam' by Charu Ch. Bose: "In the introduction Pt. Satis Ch. Vidyabhusan has shown that many slokas, similar to those in Dhammapadam, are to be seen in works like Mahabharata, Panchatantra, Manu-Samhita, etc." (Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.)
(3) Lankavatara Sutram (JBTS, 1900).
(4) An account of the Lankavatara Sutram (JRAS, 1905),
(5) An analysis of the Lankavatara Sutram (Journals and Proceedings of A.S.B, 1905).

3. History of Nyaya Philosophy (Sahitya Sambita, 1902)
4. Nyaya Philosophy of the Hindus (Kayastha Samachar, 1902).

His vigorous investigation into history of Tibetan literature revealed to him the fact that during the medieval period intimate relation had subsisted between India (the birth place of Buddhism) and Tibet (where Buddhism or Lamaism[1] had been founded by the Indian Saint Padmasambhava[2] and that during such period the Tibetan monks had carried away from India valuable works in different departments of Sanskrit learning. During these ages, the secluded monks of Tibet were principally engaged in enriching their literature by faithful versions of many of those great books of Sanskrit literature. The accomplishment of this task was rendered possible by the presence in Tibet of a number of Buddhist Sanskritists who (from time to time) had crossed the Himalayas for various reasons, such as for taking refuge in Tibet after the sack of the Royal University of Vikramsila[3] by Baktear Khiliji. Thus, although the Sanskrit originals have, in many instances, disappeared from this country (due, mainly, to the destruction of the Indian Buddhist works in Sanskrit on the decline of Buddhism),[4] the translation (and, in many cases, the original itself) has survived in Tibet.

By continued search Prof. Vidyabhusan came to learn about two great Tibetan Encyclopaedias, known as the 'Kangyur' and the 'Tangyur'.

The Kangur consists of 108, and the Tangyur extends over 225, massive volumes. The latter consists of literary works, both sacred and secular; one of the four sections, into which the entire work is divided, embodies more than 1000 separate treatises on theology, philosophy, logic, ethics, grammar, rhetoric, poesy, prosody, lexicon,

[1] Lama=Devotion.

[2] Vide Prof. Vidyabhusan's :—
(1) Missionaries of ancient India (Bharati, 1901).
(2) Indian Missionaries in foreign land in the Buddhistic age.
(3) Rise and Spread of Buddhism (M.B. Journal, 1902, June).
(4) Buddhism—its Rise and Development (University Extension lecture, 1915).

[3] In the appendices of Prof. Vidyabhusan's 'A short history of the Medieval School of Indian Logic,' a general history of the University of Nalanda and the University of Vikramsila has been given. Also see his :—
(1) University of Nalanda, Buddhist University (Indian Mirror, 1901).
(2) University of Vikramsila, ,, ,, (Bharati, 1909).

[4] *Vide* his :—
(1) বৌদ্ধ ধর্ম্মের ধ্বংস (ভারত মহিলা, 1909, ১৩১৬ বৈশাখ)
(2) How Buddhism became extinct in India (J.M.B.S., iv, 1)
(3) How Buddhism became extinct in India (Bharati, 1902).

astronomy, astrology, medicine, alchemy and the mechanical arts. Although the two encyclopaedias were prepared by the industry of the Tibetan Lamas, the treatises comprised therein are mainly of non-Tibetan authorship; the works are principally Tibetan versions from Sanskrit and Chinese texts made in the ninth century of the Christian era. In these two encyclopasdias lay embedded more than 5000 Sanskrit works, the originals of which could no longer be traced in this country.[1]

Prof. Vidyabhusan guessed that "numerous Buddhist works on Logic, composed during this period, which have been lost in this country for many centuries, must exist apparently in Tibetan versions."[2] For exploring the said Buddhist works, he realised the importance of a minute examination of the Kangyur and the Tangyur.

Prof. Vidyabhusan came to know that in the beginning of the nineteenth century Mr. Brian Hodgson, while Resident of Nepal, had collected some Tibetan manuscripts (known consequently as 'Hodgson Collections'). They were parts of the Kangyur and the Tangyur, the former being deposited in the Asiatic Society library and the latter in the India Office, London. In the hope of recovering some lost Buddhist works on Logic from the said manuscripts Prof. Vidyabhusan went through them, taking the manuscripts on the Kangyur from the Asiatic Society library and those on the Tangyur being lent to him by the India Office through Dr. F. W. Thomas.

The result was his recovery of Pramana-Samuccaya (the standard Buddhist work on Medieval Logic) by Dignaga, the father of the medieval (Buddhist) Logic, and Jinendrabodhi's commentary on the same, both of which he published later in Journal and proceedings of the A.S.B., 1905, NS. Vol. I, No. 9; through Bibliotheca Indica he made available to the learned world the Tibetan texts on other subjects also. "The Tibetan translation of the logical work of Dignaga (the original of which is not available in this country) enables us to trace the history of the rise and development of this branch of philosophy."[3]

He wrote an article on 'Philosopher Dignaga', whose biography he has written in the Journal of the Mahabodhi Society. Later, he

[1] *Vide* Prof. Vidyabhusan's 'Sanskrit works on Literature, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography as preserved in Tibet' (J.A.S.B., 1907)'

[2] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Asiatic Society address, dated 5th February, 1908.

[3] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Asiatic Society address, dated 7th February, 1906.

gave an account of the development of Nyaya Philosophy from the time of Dignaga.[1]

VIII

In March, 1902, he was transferred to Presidency College as Senior Professor of Sanskrit and Pali. The period following this saw him not only writing, but also delivering lectures, on many an important topic (*e.g.* on 'Raja Ram Mohan Roy', etc.).[2] In delivering lectures he never attempted to produce any effect on the audience. This absence of desire to produce effect really produced it, the audience according him a patient and respectful hearing.

The intercourse between India and Tibet, says Perceval Landon (the historian of the British expedition to Tibet), was renewed by the British Mission to Tibet in 1904. From Gyantse (Tibet), the British Mission brought down a large number of valuable Tibetan block-prints to Calcutta; and they also brought a vast Tibetan collection consisting of manuscripts, books and some volumes of the Tangyur and the Kangyur, which found a place in the British Museum. These block-prints (along with the Tibetan version of Tara Stotra) were lent to Prof. Vidyabhusan by the Government of India; and Lord Curzon made it possible for Prof. Vidyabhusan to retain temporarily the said manuscripts, books, and volumes of the Kangyur and the Tangyur. Prof. Vidyabhusan went through all these works. He published in the journal of the A.S.B. a subject-catalogue of the Tangyur and the Kangyur. The A.S.B. engaged a Lama to prepare a descriptive

[1] Some of his writings during this period :—

(1) University of Taxila (Indian Mirror, 1901).
(2) Ancient City of Taxila (do.).
(3) do. Magadha (Dawn, 1901).
(4) do do. (Bharati, 1901).
(5) Story of Haritika (J.B.T.S., vii).
(6) Story of Mahakashyapa, (J.B.T S., vii).
(7) Jataka stories of Pali Pitakas (Panthā, 1901).
(8) Anuruddhasthavira (Sahitya-Samhita, 1901).
(9) Dharma diksha of Ravana (Nabya-bharat, 1901).
(10) Conversion of the people of Lanka by Buddha (J.M.B.S., 1902).
(11) Conversion of Ravana and the people of Lanka by Buddha (Open Court, America, 1902).
(12) Conversion of Ravana and the people of Lanka by Buddha (Mahabodhi and United Buddhist World, Calcutta, 1902, (July, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 5).

[2] His lecture, for instance, on Vedas, delivered in 1902 (১৯০৯) at the monthly meeting in the third year of the existence of Sahitya Samhita, was highly instructive. (See his 'Localization of certain hymns of Rigveda,' J.A.S.B., NS, X). So was his lecture, delivered on 21st May, 1902 at Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the occasion of Baisakh Mahotsab (celebration of the 2446th anniversary of birth, enlightenment and pari-nirvana of Buddha;) this lecture was published in 'Mahabodhi and United Buddhist World'—Calcutta, June, 1902: Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 539-44). Also see his 'Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha' in Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1901.

catalogue of the two encyclopaedias under the guidance of Prof. Vidyabhusan. Later, the Senate of the Calcutta University also entrusted Prof. Vidyabhusan with the work of preparing an analytical table of the contents (index) of the Tangyur and the Kangyur.

On a perusal of the said volumes of the two encyclopaedias brought down by the British Mission to Tibet, Prof. Vidyabhusan came across 25 Indian Buddhist works on Logic in faithful Tibetan versions—works which had been composed in India between 400 A.D. and 1200 A.D. In a paper called 'Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet' (Journals and Proceedings of A.S.B., 1907, Vol. 3, No. 2), Prof. Vidyabhusan gave an account of all these works. With the exception of Nos. 11 and 13 (the Sanskrit originals of which were, under unique circumstances, discovered among the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the Jain temple of Santinath, Cambay), these works are no longer available in India or Nepal, but have been preserved in Tibet in literal translations of which Prof. Vidyabhusan appended a brief notice. His next paper called 'Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet, No. 2' (Journals and proceedings of A.S.B., 1907, Vol. 3, No. 5), which was compiled from the said volumes, contained an account of 29 Indian Buddhist works on Logic, the Sanskrit originals of which had been lost to India. Most of these works were composed in Kashmir and Nepal between 600 and 1200 A.D. and were translated into Tibetan mainly during Sakhya hierarchy in the 13th century A.D. These were the works which he recovered from the said volumes and which threw considerable light on the development of the Buddhist Logic in India.[1]

[1] Some of his writings during this period :

(1) Pratitya-Samutpada or chain of causes (Sahitya-Samhita, 1902),
(2) Pratiya-Samutpada or Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination (J.M.B.S., 1902).
(3) Upasampada or ordination ceremony of the Buddhist (J.M.B.S., 1902).
(4) Pali sources of Aesop's Fables (Banga-darshan, 1902).
(5) Bharatiya Aesop's Fables (Banga-darshan).
(6) Abhinammatha Samgraha.
(7) Anguttara Nikaya (Bharati, 1902).
(8) Pragnaparamita, or perfection of Wisdom (J.M.B.S., 1902).
(9) Philosophy : pragnaparamita : absolute knowledge (J.M.B.S., iv, 3).
(10) On the 'absolute'—Dr. Hastings' Dictionary of Religions, J. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.
(11) Spirit of self-help in Hindu religion (Bharati, 1902).
(12) Dharmaranya, or Forest of justice (J.M.B.S. 1902).
(13) Vratya and Sankara theory of caste (J.A.S.B., 1902). Late Lala Lajpat Rai quoted from this article in his paper on 'Depressed Classes' appearing in 'Modern Review,' July, 1907.
(14) Vratya and Sankara theory of caste (Sahitya, 1906).
(15) Nicchivi Jati (Bharati, 1902).
(16) Licchavi race of ancient India (J.A.S.B., 1902).
(17) See his 'Persian affinities of Licchavis' (Indian Antiquary, 1908).

IX

Due to new friendship (we learn from Prof. Vidyabhusan's 'Travels of the Tashi Lama in India'), His Holiness Lob-Zang-choi-kyi-nyi-ma, Tashi Lama the 6th of Tibet, left for India on the 8th November 1905 to tour through the noted places of Buddhist pilgrimage. Prof. Vidyabhusan was selected [1] to act as interpreter and explain the histories and customs of the places to be visited. So he—along with Captain (later Major) W.F. O'Connor C.I.E. (British Trade Agent, Gyantse), Captain R. Steen, I.M.S. (Medical Officer, Gyantse), Maharaj Kumar Sidkayong Tulku, C.I.E. of Sikkim and Mr. Laden La—was deputed by the Government of India to receive the Tashi Lama and his staff at Siliguri. The whole party moved to Rawalpindi, Taxila, Do-Jog and Agra. At Benares, a discussion took place about a certain verse of Meghduta, in which the Tashi Lama, his tutor, Captain O'Connor, Prof. Vidyabhusan (later Dr.) Venis (Principal, Queen's College, Benares), MM Gangadhar Sastri, C.I.E. and MM Kailas Ch. Siromani took part. There Captain O'Connro, Prof. Vidyabhusan and the tutor of the Lama went to the Government College to examine the Brahminic Sanskrit manuscripts. Then the party moved to Sarnath. At Buddha-Gaya, Captain O'Connor and Prof. Vidyabhusan inspected the sacred sites; and then the party came to Calcutta.

There was a brilliant gathering at Bauddha-Dharmakur-Vihara; among those present were Prof. Vidyabhusan, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Justice Sarada Charan Mitter, Nawab Bahadur of Bogra, Raja of Nashipur, Lt. Col. D.C. Phillot, Dr. E. D. Ross and E. B. Havell. As representatives of the Buddhist Association, Prof. Vidyabhusan and Venerable Gunalankara went to Hastings House to accompany his Holiness. An address in Tibetan on behalf of the Bauddha-Dharmankur Sabha was read to the Lama by Prof. Vidyabhusan.

(18) Saraka caste of India identified with Sérike of Central Asia (Proceedings of A.S.B., 1903).
(19) Ratana-Sutta, a Pali Work (introduction, text, transcription, translation, notes)—Mahabodhi and United Buddhist World, 1902, May.
(20) Buddha Ghosha (J M.B.S., 1902, November).
(21) Bya-chos (Religion of Birds)—edited for the first time (1903). It enshrines moral lessons of striking beauty.
(22) Kumara-Jiba (Bharati, 1904).

[1] "As a Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan Scholar, Prof. Vidya-Bhusan is second to none. No one has done more to exploit Buddhist literature and culture and oriental antiquities generally. For these qualifications, he was selected by the Government to accompany the Tashi Lama." (Late Narendranath Sen's address at Dharmankur Vihar on 15-5-08 on the occasion of Jina-Janma-mahotsab or the 2452nd anniversary of parinirvana of Buddha called Baisakh-purnima festival, an occasion on which Prof. Vidyabhusan also spoke).

On 7.1.06, under the auspices of his Holiness, a Society (called Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society) was formed in Calcutta—an association of many leading Buddhist and Hindu gentlemen of India, Burma and Ceylon—with two resident Secretaries, *viz.*, Prof. Vidyabhusan and Mr. Dawa Samdup of Gangtok (the present capital of Sikkim). Some books, which had been translated into Tibetan in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries A.D., were presented by Prof. Vidyabhusan to the Lama who gave Prof. Vidyabhusan, Captain O'Connor and Hayashi (the Japanese military attache) return presents of Khatag (silken upper garments, complimentary scarves) and expressed his highest regards for Prof. Vidyabhusan in appreciation of his amiable character and great assistance rendered to the Lama.

Consequent upon the Tashi Lama's visit, Tibetan traders began pouring into India. From some of them were obtained later on (in 1911) four copies of the entire Tangyur, of which one was with Prof. Vidyabhusan, one in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, another in the Calcutta University Library, and a fragmentary one in the Sahitya Parishad library. This was followed by his article on 'Bauddha-Nyaya' written in 1915 in the Sahitya Parishad Patrika.

His knowledge of so many languages had earned for him a great reputation as a linguist.[1] He was already appointed an examiner, Head examiner, paper-setter, moderator, etc., of the Calcutta University. He became an examiner of the Punjab, Nepal and other Universities; he was an examiner of Parbartia and Armenian languages. Later, he was mainly instrumental in introducing in the M.A. Course 'Ancient Indian History and Culture' and 'Indian Vernaculars,'[2] Prakrit being prescribed as its basic language; it was adopted by the Senate, sanctioned by the Government on 3.2.19 and started from July 1919, Prakrit being instructed by Prof. (then Principal) Vidyabhusan.

[1] *Vide* his—1. Science of language (Bharati, 1901).
2. History of Grammatical literature in India (Dawn, 1901).
3. Relations of Grammar with language (Bharati, 1901).
4. Grammar of Bengali (Bharati, 1904).
5. Differences of races and differences of languages (Bharati, 1902).

[2] "His keen interest in Bengali literature was the reason for his being one of the 500 persons (including Sir Jagadish Ch. Bose, Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Maulvi Abdul Kasem, Revd. Milburn) to go to Santi-Niketan by a special train on the 7th Falgoon, 1330 (B.S.) to welcome the Poet (Rabindranath) on his return from Europe after winning Nobel Prize-" (From Ananda Bazar Patrika, dated 7th August, 1941). He was not only a writer in many well-known magazines (such as প্রবাসী, বঙ্গবাণী, বঙ্গবাসী, জাহ্নবী etc.) besides the magazines mentioned herein but also a patron of children's literature. "The Children's magazine named "Dhruba' edited by me, attracted Prof. Vidyabhusan's attention. He very often used to advise and instruct me in its proper editing and management. He helped me in various ways with pictures and articles collected from teachers of schools and professors of colleges." (translated from an article on Dr. Vidyabhusan by Birendra N. Ghosh, ভারতবর্ষ, ১৩৪০, বৈশাখ)

In recognition of his erudition, originality and researches in oriental learning, the coveted title of 'Mahamahopadhyaya' (the highest title at the disposal of the Government of India for an oriental scholar) was conferred on him on the 1st January, 1906. None ever received this enviable distinction at such an early age.

In 1907, on the nomination of the authorities of the Calcutta University, Lord Minto (the Chancellor) appointed him as an Ordinary Fellow of the Calcutta University. Ever since then, he was elected a member of the Senate. From 1912 onwards, he was a member of the Syndicate. He was a member of almost all the Faculties and Boards of Studies.

In 1912, he was appointed to sit on the Dacca University Committee. Mr. Nathan, the president of the Committee, highly thanked him for the valuable service rendered by him.[1]

[1] Some of his writings during this period :—

1. Amogha-vajra (Bharati, 1905).
2. Romoka (or city of Rome, as mentioned in ancient Sanskrit and Pali works)—Bani 1905.
3. Romoka (Journals and Proceedings of A.S.B. (1906).
4. A Buddhist picture from Tibet } Sahitya, 1905
5. The sixteen Mahasthavirs of Tibet }
6. Note on two photographs of the stone image of Buddha forwarded by the Commissioner of Chittagong Division (JP 1,1905, Proc. 28).
7. Gyantse rock inscriptions of Chos-ryyal-gnis-pa. a ruler under Sakyapa Hierarchy in the 14th century A.D.
8. A Tibetan almanac for 1906-1907 (Journals and Proceedins of A S.B , 1906). This copy of Tibetan almanac (prepared by a Mongolian Lama living in Tibet) was purchased by Prof. Vidyabhusan from a Lama in Darjeeling in June 1906. It is replete with figures, indicating constellations, starts, lunar mansions, auspicious days, etc., calculated according to combined method of Indian and Chiness astrologies.

Round the World

Commonwealth Conference

At the time of writing it is not clear as to what would be the effect of the deliberations at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference now being held at London. The Objectives Resolution adopted at the Indian Constituent Assembly would make India a republic. The question is whether India as a sovereign republic could remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations with which it has been associated as a Dominion. This question came in for consideration at the Conference held in London in October last. But evidently no decision was arrived at then. There were only some free exchanges of opinion. Recently over this issue there were again some detailed talks between the representatives of the British Government and the different Dominion Governments. These talks had evidently been arranged to supply relevant facts and opinions to Mr. Attlee and his colleagues, on the basis of which they might formulate definite proposals to be discussed at the Premiers' Conference. We do not know what facts and opinions had been supplied to the British Cabinet as a result of these talks. Consequently, as pointed out already, it is difficult to know as to what proposals the British Government is submitting to the Conference and as to the reaction they might have on the different Dominions.

But in the January Number of *Foreign Affairs* Robert Gordon Menzies, former Prime Minister and now Leader of the Opposition of Australia, has ventilated his views. It is true that his views are his own but in this important matter it is unlikely that the present Government of Australia would entertain views which would not be shared by the Opposition and which in fact may be resisted by it. In South Africa also Field-Marshal Smuts, the leader of the Opposition, has given publicity to his own views. They are important. Smuts is regarded as an Empire Statesman. In fact for more than thirty years he has been one of the pillars of Empire unity and the British Government, whatever its party complexion may be, will find it immensely difficult to reject his standpoint.

Mr. Menzies observes: "The more I have thought about it, the more convinced I have become that we must now, once and for all, decide whether the British Commonwealth is to remain as an organic structure in which there must be some permanent binding element which preserves unity, or whether it is to broaden out into a merely functional association, an alliance between otherwise separate and independent nations. The difference between these two courses is not verbal, and cannot be eliminated by mere drafting ingenuity. It is profound. It goes right down into the hearts and instincts of British people all over the world. Are we to be one family under one head, the King, or are we to be a business (and

perhaps defensive) partnership with no more guarantee of permanence than any other such association has had in the past ?" "I state my own faith at once", he says. "Alliance is not enough. Organic union under the Crown is vital if we are to play our full part in the world and its vexed affairs. This notion does not exclude other and most friendly associations and agreements. It would even permit associate, as distinct from full, Commonwealth membership. But it gives expression to the belief that British unity under the Crown will be destroyed if and when we accept a new formula under which we are not to be British, our nations are not to be united organically, and the Crown is no longer to be significant except to some members in some places."

The views expressed by Field Marshal Smuts have practically the same content. He also believes that allegiance to the Crown is an indispensable preliminary to membership of the Commonwealth. The withdrawal of this allegiance means withdrawal from the Commonwealth. A state outside the Commonwealth may of course be associated with one or more members of the Commonwealth by treaty relations. In other words Smuts wants India either to remain a member of the Commonwealth by owing allegiance as now to the King or withdraw this allegiance and go out of the Commonwealth. But just as Atlantic countries have united by a treaty, so India also may be united with Britain and other members of the Commonwealth by a treaty.

So in the opinion of the two Empire Statesmen now in opposition in their respective Dominions there are only two alternatives in respect of India's associtiation with Britain and the Commonwealth. The first is the continuance of allegiance to the Crown on the part of this country. The second is withdrawal from the Commonwealth and re-establishment of ties by some treaty. This, however, appears to be too cut and dried an attitude, which ill goes with the elasticity which Britain has all along maintained in her constitutional organisation and in her relations with the Dominions. There is only one instance of an inelastic attitude which the British Government took up in such matters, and of that instance the British people cannot be proud. The reference here is to the unbending attitude that George III's Government took towards the thirteen American Colonies and to the resultant cessation of those colonies from British connection. This provided a warning to the British against any cut and dried legalistic policy in matters which are delicate and subtle. The question of India's relation with the Commonwealth is a matter of this description. The solution of this question cannot be confined to the two straightforward alternatives suggested above. There should be a more delicate, more elastic and more open-minded approach to the problem. We do not believe that the British Government would in this regard go back upon its general traditions and follow the only precedent which proved disastrous.

It seems that the emphasis on common allegiance has overshot the mark. There is of course no gainsaying the fact that people of British origin in all the Dominions are unflinching in their allegiance to the Crown. But there are many people even in white Dominions, who are not of the British race and their allegiance is a matter of convenience and not of sentiment. Legally speaking also common allegiance does not always mean much on crucial occasions. Eire was a member of the Commonwealth and owed allegiance to the Crown, though externally, during the period of the second world war. That did not prevent her from remaining neutral although the King was at war with Germany. Canada did not come into the war immediately with the declaration of war by Britain. South Africa escaped neutrality only by a hair's breadth. In view of this it does not seem very wise to expatiate on common allegiance. In appearance the Commonwealth has become a personal union. The different Dominions are free and independent but are connected together by the common link of the Crown. The King is the common factor. But the King here stands for certain common interests of the different peoples. The King represents the peoples and embodies their interests. Consequently there is no harm and no incongruity in the peoples of Britain and the different Dominions being united in the Commonwealth directly instead of indirectly through the Crown. That would make republics easy members of the Commonwealth.

The question may arise whether India may not accept allegiance to the Crown in view of her anxiety to remain in the Commonwealth. We shall discuss in the next paragraph if India is very anxious to remain in the Commonwealth. Here it is pertinent to point out that the Congress policy at one time was to remain in the Commonwealth as a Dominon owing full allegiance to the Crown. But in 1929 this ideal was abandoned in favour of full and complete independence. For the last twenty years Indian opinion has been shaped on this basis. The Constituent Assembly has also passed accordingly the Objectives Resolution in which the republican character of the Indian state has been emphasised. It is too late in the day to think of reverting to Dominion Status with allegiance to the British Crown. It may of course be pointed out that the difference between a Dominion owing allegiance to the Crown and a Republic which is a member of the Commonwealth is a difference between Twidledum and Twidledee. But for a country which had been for nearly two hundred years under the domination of a foreign power and which only recently did away with that control and became free, it is important that it should have a form of government under which the people might think that their destiny is no longer shaped at Whitehall but in New Delhi. They may not have this conviction so long as India owes allegiance to the Crown which is the British Crown. In Indian traditions allegiance to a King means a good deal and if that King belongs to and lives in a foreign country

it will be difficult to get over the idea that India is still dependent upon that country.

The question is if in view of this anxiety to become a republic India may not take the logical step of going out of the Commonwealth. So far as the public is aware, that was the original intention of the Congress leaders. British prestige in India was for years very low. British attitude towards Indian interests was positively hostile. Consequently there was only one alternative before the Congress and that was to work for the withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth. This policy received a check when Mountbatten proved the sincerity of the British Government regarding India's liberty to shape her destiny in her own way. His friendliness towards Indian aspirations and his appreciation of India's position gave the Indian leaders food for thinking. He might have suggested to these leaders that there was mutual benefit for India and Britain in India's intimate relationship with the Commonwealth and possibly he requested them to think over the matter more calmly and not to come to any decision hastily. There is no denying the fact that there was much wisdom in the suggestion if it had been made. There was advantage both for Britain and for India if the latter remained a member of the Commonwealth. For General Smuts who is looking at the question from the standpoint of South Africa alone, there may not be any advantage in India remaining in the Commonwealth. On the contrary the South African Government may have opportunity of dealing with the Indian population there even more harshly if India walked out of the Commonwealth. Menzies who looks at the world with the eyes of Churchill may also be indifferent towards India's connection with the Commonwealth. But for people who would look at the question without prejudice, there is mutual benefit. For Britain the advantage is in the prestige which the Commonwealth would maintain by India's continued connection with it. Her trade and industry which had benefited so much in the past by India being a dependency would continue to derive much of this benefit if India remained in the Commonwealth. But most important benefit would be that India's Government would remain much more open to influence if India was a member of the Commonwealth than otherwise. On the side of India there would be the chance of her getting the help in matters in which she required it. Industrial goods and war materials which she lacked must be imported. Her cadets in the army, navy, and air force may have to be trained in Britain. Britain's help in inter-Dominion affairs, which had been rather fitfully given in the past, may not be available at all if there was severance of all relations with the Commonwealth.

So if India remained in the Commonwealth, that would not open a one-way passage for help and assistance. It would be of as much benefit to India as to Britain. In view of this there is nothing presumptuous in

India's demand to remain in the Commonwealth only on the condition of her republican regime being accepted.

India to Remain in Commonwealth

Since the above was written, the Conference has come to a decision and issued a joint declaration. It testifies to the fact that Brtiain's statesmen still possess that adjustability to new circumstances, which alone made Britain so great in the world. The joint declaration issued by the eight Commonwealth countries says: "The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe common allegiance to the Crown which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that, under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign, independent republic.

"The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration.

"Accordingly the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

An Economic and Social Service

A plea has recently been made by some scholars including Mr. D. P. Mukherji for the establishment of a separate Economic and Social Service in the provinces. It has been pointed out that the character of the Indian state has changed in recent times. Functions of government have increased considerably. The Government whose duty in the past was to maintain law and order and collect land revenue has been compelled by circumstances to undertake responsibilities which can be discharged properly only through the medium of an agency which has a thorough training in economic and social sciences. In view of this it has been suggested that on the parallel of other provincial services a separate Economic and Social Service manned by men with proper training in these sciences should be created.

Our view is different. Like the police, medical and public health duties of the Government, its economic and social functions would not constitute a particular branch to be tackled by people with a specialised training. Practically all functions of the Government with few exceptions will have their economic and social significance. A Circle Officer *e.g.*, who as a rule inspects the local bodies but who may have to perform sundry other duties of the Government as well should not be classed as a mere general administrator who does not require careful training in economic and social sciences. The state has ceased to be a police state and has become a welfare state. In view of this change the civil servants should be recruited and trained on a new basis. Formerly civil servants were recruited on the basis of a written examination of subjects which might not include the social sciences. Then after recruitment, they were given administrative training in matters which on confirmation they would be required to deal with. They included hearing of petty cases, settlement work, and performance of such duties as were connected with land revenue administration. The result is that many civil servants who might have passed as efficient men in old days become square-pegs in round holes at the present time. Whether it will be wise to make social sciences compulsory for the civil service examinations it is difficult to say. The Public Service Commission may examine the matter. But after recruitment every civil servant will be required to undergo training for two years. During this period apart from doing practical work they should be required to acquaint themselves thoroughly with economic and other social sciences. That will give the new orientation in their experience and outlook.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar—By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A. Ph. D., Professor of History, Patna College; Published by the University of Patna (1948).

Wide is our knowledge about the emergence of the British as the prime victor in the struggle for supremacy in India and their encounters with the Indian forces; our knowledge of the ambitions and activities of the French is not also very poor. But the details of the many conflicts of interest in which the Portuguese and the Dutch were prominent partners are hardly remembered by any one. But the Dutch were not a small contending power in the eastern seas and the roots of their interest refuse to be eradicated from the East Indies. In India they had arrived at a fairly early date and had secured footholds in different parts of the country through various means. Already during the early days of the 18th century they had established trading centres at Chinsura near Hooghly in Bengal; they had also established factories at Patna, Pipli, Balasore, Fatwa, Malda and Baranagore near Calcutta. With the gradual disintegration of the local powers the foreign establishments in India came to be considered as dependencies of the nations in power; and as such the interests began to clash. The Dutch had built up a good trade in Bengal along the coast of the river Ganga and their saltpeter trade in Bihar became a very lucrative one. The principal centre of their trade in Bengal was at Chinsura, and in going up stream past Calcutta, the British establishment in Bengal, they often came into clash with the British authorities in that city. In the struggle that ensued for the supremacy over this part of the country the Dutch were never a direct participant but they were not slow in understanding the shifting conditions in Hindusthan and not unoften they came to be indirect associates of this power or that in the political chessboard of the contemporary age. Dr. Datta has told the story of the activities of the Dutch in Bengal and Bihar in some detail bringing out the implications of the various incidents that had occurred in Bengal or the neighbouring areas and in which the Dutch had participated. He has also given details of their trade interests in the Eastern part of India. The appendix contains some important documents pertaining to the relationship of the Dutch with other contemporary powers and trading companies. The bibliography will help readers hankering after wider knowledge in the subject. The book will certainly be read with great interest and will be of great use as a reference study.

Kalyan K. Ganguli

The Sixth International Conference of Labour Statisticians—Published from the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1948.

This is a report on the Sixth International Conference of Labour Statisticians which met at Montreal in August, 1947. The more notable resolutions passed by this Conference contain directions regarding methods and techniques, conventions and standard definitions. to be followed in arriving at Statistics of Cost-of-Living, Industrial Injury Rates, and Employment, Unemployment and the Labour Force. While the choice of proper methods and techniques is obviously essential for the accuracy of the statistics compiled, adoption of certain standard definitions, conventions and classifications is additionally useful in so far as it ensures international comparability of statistical conclusions. The deliberations of this conference as embodied in the numerous resolutions passed by it cannot fail to offer valuable guidance to statisticians working in the fields covered by these resolutions.

Amlan Dutta

Radicalism—By Shib Narayan Ray. Published by Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta. Price—Rs. 2-8-0.

The present day trouble which confronts our Government is how to adjust itself to the changing circumstances of the world and at the same time to maintain its democratic principles. Mr. Ray discusses the subject in a scholarly way without any prejudice or love for any 'ism'. He advances arguments to prove that society is always in a state of dynamic progress; the maxims of one age become inapplicable for the next. Admitting that there can never be any absolute truth, all truths being partial and local, a comprehensive philosophy is needed to find out the co-relation between truths of different ages.

Mr. Ray's radicalism is a practial proposal; he perfects the dialectics of last century communism in the light of present day science. The author deserves our congratulations for his new presentation.

J. N. Mitra

Unemployment, Full Employment and India—By N. Das, Ph.D., I.C.S. Published by All-India Company, Ltd., 30, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 3/-.

As society emerges from an uncivilised state to a comparatively stable condition, economic insecurity becomes a well established fact. This insecurity arises from maldistribution of national wealth. With the advent of the machine age, the problem reaches an acute stage. The author analyses the problem in its historio-economic aspect and also from experience gained during the inter-war period. He concludes that effective planning can secure full employment even in a capitalistic organisation.

J. N. Mitra

India on the March—Edited by Jagat S. Bright, M.A. Published by Indian Printing Works, Kacheri Road, Lahore. Rs. 6/8.

This valuable book contains the speeches and writings of our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, from 1916 to 1946. The reader will find in these pages many biographical touches and special references which have become landmarks in the history of our country.

M. B.

Economics of Khaddar—By Richard B. Gregg. Published by Navajivan Publishing Press, Ahmedabad. Rs. 2/-.

The philosophy of Khaddar is so intimately connected with Gandhian philosophy that its importance in our national life can never be over-emphasised. As a country inhabited by stolid and illiterate peasants can never hope for scientific progress, Mahatma Gandhi planned his village economy, based on Charka and asked the peasants to become self-sufficient. The book under review is written by an expert who dissects the whole system from up-to-date view points and brings out the truth that Khaddar is an essential element in Indian national life and economic policy.

M. B. B.

"Gandhiji Unveiled."—By T. N. Roy. Published by the author from 54 A, Abdul Rasul Road, Calcutta 26, 1948. Pp. 13. Price 4 as.

"Yet another book on Gandhiji" is the impatient exclamation that must escape involuntarily from the lips of any reader who may have any occasion to look at this pamphlet. But if he goes through it, he will be agreeably surprised to find that it is novel and interesting. The author has already established his reputation as a writer on religious and philosophical subjects, with his "Science and Geeta" (1939), "Across word-Puzzle" (1944) and "Eastward Ho" (1947), which have all been very well received among discerning readers. We have no doubt that "Gandhiji Unveiled" will be equally well received. The many apparent contradictions in Gandhiji's life and character can be harmonised, if we agree with the author, as we must, that "he is a practical demonstration of the religion of the *Geeta*." The author develops in the present pamphlet his old thesis, "*Anand* or happiness is non-duality or unity," and restates the proposition thus: "Union is not only strength but *Mukti*, liberation from all unhappiness, which is the attainment of God." We shall be glad to see the pamphlet widely circulated among our college students and teachers.

H. Sinha

Ourselves

Institute of Radio Physics and Electronics

On the 21st April last Dr. B. C. Roy laid the foundation stone of the Institute of Radio Physics and Electronics, Calcutta University. It should be recalled that sometime ago the Government of India made a capital grant of Rs. 3,40,000 for the building of the Institute and Rs. 2,10,000 for its equipment. These grants were an earnest of the appreciation by that Government of the work which the University had already been doing for years in relation to this aspect of science. The University was feeling the need, for some years past, of more detailed and comprehensive attention to Radio Physics and Electronics than it was possible for it to pay with its existing resources. It still created a new Department to this end. Now the Government grants, referred to above, will make possible the undertaking of the work in its proper environments. Arrangements for enlarging the staff will have, however, to be made, as the Vice-Chancellor emphasised on the occasion, by the University from its own funds.

The Institute, when completed, will train what Professor S. K. Mitra described as 'Scientist Engineers.' They will be fully equipped both for undertaking fundamental research in a laboratory and for filling responsible technical posts in various services and industries.

* * * *

Bethune School Centenary

The Bethune School, the oldest high school for girls in Calcutta, has completed its hundred years. The occasion was celebrated fittingly on the seventh of May last. The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, participated in the celebration by planting in the school compound an Asoka sappling.

One hundred years ago education among girls was exceedingly limited. Event hose who had its benefit were educated only at home. There was no school, not to speak of a college, for them to go to. Since the foundation of the Hindu College in the second decade of the 19th century, however, new ideas had overtaken the mind of the English educated class in this province. Their outlook was enlarged

and their vision widened. They were prepared to go back on age-old traditions if they were not consistent with rational thinking and lasting interests of the country and its people.

A group of reformers, in fact, became determined about the middle of that century to take the first steps to undermine illiteracy and ignorance among women. They interested John Drinkwater Bethune, a member of the Governor-General's Council, in this pioneering work. Mr. Bethune became an enthusiast and not only took the initiative in founding the school which bears to this day his name but made handsome donations to it so long as he lived and made a bequest to it at his death. The school, at first not very popular, gradually struck root and made headway. The progress it has made during the last one century indicates the extent of the growth of female education in this province.

It is significant that while in 1849 it was the only girls' school in Bengal attended by half a dozen students and that also only in the primary classes, to-day there are 92 girls' high schools affiliated to the University although its jurisdiction has shrunken so much as a result of political changes. It should be added that people could not conceive one hundred years ago the idea of providing collegiate education for girls. But to-day there are twelve exclusively women's colleges affiliated to the University and there are other institutions including the Post-Graduate Department of the University which are either co-educational or maintain women's sections. This is certainly no mean progress in one century.

* * * *

Agricultural College at Jhargram.

On the 8th May last, the Vice-Chancellor laid the foundation stone of the College of Agriculture at Jhargram, (District Midnapore).

For years past the University has felt the need of widening the existing opportunities of agricultural education in this province. Steps taken in this regard at Barrackpore were impeded by the war. It was consequently a matter of cordial welcome that Raja Narasingh Malla Dev of Jhargram offered a large plot of land comprising one hundred and forty-three acres and a donation of one lakh of rupees to the University for establishing a College of Agriculture. The offer was thankfully accepted by the University, curriculum of agricultural studies for the Intermediate stage onwards was drawn up and a

provisional governing body for the College was set up. Now the foundation stone has been laid and other arrangements made for the opening of the College next July. It will be affiliated for the time being to the Intermediate standard. But gradually higher classes will be opened and the status of the college raised. Besides agriculture, the College will be affiliated in other usual Arts and Science subjects as well.

The Vice-Chancellor, in course of the speech he delivered in laying the foundation stone, emphasised the importance of agricultural education in the province at the present time. Food position is still uncertain and it cannot be improved without bettering the methods of agriculture and this in its turn will demand better agricultural education. It may be hoped that the College at Jhargram will lead us in that direction.

* * * *

Post-Graduate Medical Studies.

Western medical education has made rapid strides in India since Madhusudan Gupta defied age-old traditions by dissecting a dead human body one hundred and fourteen years ago at the Calcutta Medical College, then an infant institution. So brave was his action and so significant a landmark was it in the social and educational development of our country that it was proclaimed by the booming of a gun from the ramparts of Fort William.

The University of Calcutta has had a Faculty of Medicine since its foundation in 1857. It has again admitted medical students not merely to the Bachelor's degrees but to higher degrees like M.S., M.O. and M.D. as well. But while Post-Graduate degrees were conferred upon qualified candidates, the University could not provide proper facility for Post-Graduate research in medicine. For some years past, however, the University has contemplated the creation of such facilities under its own auspices. It is a matter of congratulation that the scheme which was formulated in this regard is going to be put into operation next July. The Presidency General Hospital will be utilised for the purpose. It should be emphasised here that this will be the first step taken in India towards a systematic promotion of higher medical research.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTICE

Memo No. C/6372/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Sub-section (a) of Section 21, of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Government is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Hooghly Mohsin College, Hooghly, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Chemistry, to the B.Sc. (Honours) Standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. R/5 dated 15th December, 1948.

Changes in Regulations *re* introduction of 'Education' as a subject for the B.A., M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations.

CHAPTER XXXII (B.A. EXAMINATION)

(*i*) On page 199 after '(VI) Linguistics' under A *add* '(VII) Education'

(*ii*) On page 199 after the paragraph beginning with 'No candidate shall be allowed, etc. *add* a new paragraph as follows :—

'No candidate shall be allowed to take up Education along with Mental and Moral Philosophy or Psychology'.

(*iii*) After page 226 *add* the following :—

EDUCATION

(1) The Pass Course in Education shall be as follows:—

Paper I. Principles of Education.

Paper II. Educational Psychology.

Paper III. Education in India since 1835 with special reference to Bengal.

(2) The Honours Course shall comprise in addition to the above.

Paper IV. New Trends in Education.

Paper V. History of Education (selected periods as may be fixed by the Board of Studies in Teaching from time to time).

Paper VI. Selections from Educational Writings and Essay (selection to be made from time to time by the Board of Studies in Teaching).

The detailed syllabuses in the subjects for each paper will be drawn up from time to time by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Studies concerned.

CHAPTER XXXIII (M.A. EXAMINATION)

(*i*) Section 1, para. 3 *Add* the following after the N B. note as a new para—

"No candidate shall be allowed to prosecute the course of study in Education unless he has previously passed ths B.T. (Bachelor of Teaching) Examination or passed the B.A. Degree Examination having taken Education as one of his subjects".

(*ii*) Section 3—in the 5th line the words "XVI to XXV" *be replaced* by "XVI to XXVI."

(*iii*) Section 5—*Add* "(XXVI)—Education" to the list.

(*iv*) Sections 6 & 7—*Change* "XXV" to "XXVI" wherever it occurs.

(*v*) Section 1(*b*) under head "General", *change* "XXV" to "XXVI".

CHAPTER XXXVII (M.Sc. EXAMINATION)

(*i*) Section 1, para. 2—*Add* the follwing as a new para :—

'No candidate shall be allowed to prosecute the course of study in Education unless he has previously passed the B.T. (Bachelor of Teaching) Examination.'

(*ii*) Section 5—*Add* "XII—Education" to the list.

(*iii*) Section 6. para 6—*Change* the words "In Geography and Zoology and Comparative Anatomy" to "In Geography, Zoology and Comparative Anatomy and Education".

(*iv*) After the syllabus of Studies in Geography *add* the follwing:—

EDUCATION

The course in Education shall he as follows:—

PAPER I

The General Principles of Education and the Development of Educational Theory. ... ... 100 marks

PAPER II

Educational Psychology and Educational Sociology ... 100 ,,

PAPER III

Educational Measurements and Experimental Pedagogy ... 100 ,,

PAPER IV

The General History of Education—

(*a*) General (selected periods of selected countries) ... 50 ,,

(*b*) Ancient and Mediaeval India's contribution to Education ... 50 ,,

PAPER V

The Theory, History and Present State of Educational Institutions and Administration in India. ... 100 ,,

PAPER VI

One of the following special subjects ... ... 100 ,,

(A) Comparative Education—The Educational System of some country or countries outside India approved for this purpose by the Board of Higher Studies in Education.

(B) Statistics in Education (a knowledge of Mathematics up to the B A or B Sc. standard will be required from candidates taking up this special paper for his M.A. or M.Sc. drgree in Education).

(C) Methodology of instruction in *one* of the following subjects:—

(*i*) Language and literature (with special reference to Bengali or English or an Ancient or Modern Language).

(*ii*) History and Civics (including social science)

(*iii*) Geography (including elements of Geology)

(*iv*) Mathematics (including elements of Astronomy)

(*v*) Physical Sciences (Physics and Chemistry)

(*vi*) Biological Sciences (Botany, Zoology & Physiology)

A candidate will not be allowed to offer one of the subjects set forth under (C) above, or to submit a thesis dealing with the Methodology of Instruction in any subject unless he has previously taken Honours in his B.A. or B.Sc. degree or he is an M A or M.Sc. in that subject or in an allied subject. The Executive Committee of the relevant Council of Post-Graduate Teaching shall have power, in very special cases, to exempt a candidate from fulfilling his condition.

(D) Educational classics. One or more work as may be prescribed by the Board of Higher Studies in Education.

(E) Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance.

(F) Educational and Vocational Guidance and Industrial Psychology.

(G) Educational Organisation and Administration.

(H) Special Education.

The Syndicate shall have the power to add to or modify the above lists on the recommendation of the Board of Higher Studies in Education, approved by the Executive Committee.

PAPERS VII & VIII

Practical ... ... 200 marks

(A) Every candidate will be examined on Practical Teaching and Class Management for three periods; 100 marks will be assigned for this part of the examination of which 25 marks shall be reserved for *viva-voce*, examinations. The examiners will be at

liberty to apply, without previous notice, any further test they may deem desirable in order to form an opinion of the candidate's competence as a teacher in the subjects which he professes or of his organising ability.

(B) Every candidate will also be examined as regards his ability to carry on or perform suitable experiments in Padagogy and Psychological tests: 50 marks shall be assigned to this part of the Practical examination.

(C) Every candidate must produce Note Books of his Laboratory Work and Class Teaching work, which must be duly certified by the teacher. The Note Books shall be examined and marked by the Examiners. 50 marks out of 200 marks assigned for Practical examination under Papers VII and VIII shall be allotted to these Note Books.

The syllabus for each paper shall be defined by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Higher Studies on Education, approved by the Executive Committee and books shall be recommended from time to time by the Board of Higher Studies in Education to indicate generally the extent and standard of knowledge required.

A candidate who is permitted to offer a piece of research work in terms of Section 6A of these Regulations will be exempted from appearing in Paper VI and one other paper granted by the relevant authority, carrying a total of 200 marks. The number of marks assigned to the thesis and *viva-voce* examination thereon shall be 200.

The conditions to be fulfilled by a candidate who is allowed to offer a thesis are as follows:—

(*a*) He must have completed one year's study of the M.A. or M.Sc. course in Education under University Lecturers or in a college affiliated in the subject up to the M.A. or M. Sc. standard.

(*b*) He must, at the end of the year, submit to the Board of Higher Studes in Education, an application for permission to offer a thesis in lieu of part of the examination.

(*c*) The application shall indicate the subjects and scope of the thesis he wishes to offer and must be recommended by the Professor or Professors under whom he has been working.

(*d*) If the application be granted by the Board of Higher Studies in Education, the thesis must be prepared under the general direction of the Professor or Professors with whom the candidate is prosecuting his studies.

(*e*) The candidate shall deliver *three copies* of the thesis (printed or typewritten) to the Secretary to the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science at least one month before the first day of the M.A. or M.Sc. Examination at which he intends to present himself.

(*f*) The thesis shall be examined by a Board of three examiners. The name of a candidate whose thesis has been approved shall be marked with an asterisk in the list of successful candidates published in the Gazette and also in the University Calendar.

Chapter XI (University Teachers)

The following additions or changes be made in Chapter XI of the Regulations.

In Sec. 7 (page 37)—*Add* (xviii—Education)

In Sec. 8 (page 37)—*Add* the following after (*a*) (*b*) and (*c*)

Provided that in the case of the Board of Higher Studies in Education for the first four years after the institution of the course of studies in Education in the University, three experts are to be appointed by the Senate on the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, in addition to those coming under 8 (*a*) & (*b*). The temporary vacancies in the places of experts shall be filled up by the Executive Committee.

S. C. GHOSH
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Notification—R/6, dated 2nd March, 1949.

In continuation of this office Notification No. R 5, dated 15th December 1948, it is hereby notified for general information that the following detailed syllabus has been prescribed for the subjects to be read for each paper for Education as one of the subjects for the B.A. Examination.

PAPER I

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION (PASS)

Definition and scope of Education. Aims and purpose of Education. Education as a factor in organic and social evolution—Heredity and Education; environmental variability; types of readjustment; education as supplementing heredity; education as antagonizing heredity. Education and Society. Early evolution of

cial heredity; education and social control. The Machinery of Education—The hool, education and the state. The means of education—(*a*) Teaching—the choice of udies; the scope of school studies; the order of studies and sequence of lessons; the rrelation of studies; the process of teaching; the influence of public examinations on aching; the school as organised for teaching; the material conditions of teaching (*b*) raining—the problems of training; the authority of the teacher; the influence of ie teacher; the school society and its influence; extracurricular activities. Discipline nd development of personality.

(Honours)

In addition to a fuller treatment of the Pass Course the following:—

Efficiency versus personal culture as the educational aim. The conditions of ndividual development. Various theories of recapitulation Cultural recapitulation. ne evolution of ideas. The evolution of judgment. General problem of education, e reason. Social memory and written language. Liberal and vocational education. ie evolution of the academic. The reaction against the academic. The ultimate l of education.

PAPER II.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

(Pass)

Scope and Methods. Analysis and Classification of Mental Phenomena. Physiolocal basis of mental life. Senses, sensation, perception, illusion. Instincts and abit, Suggestion and Imitation. Attention and other fundamental mental processes. nages, Association, Revival, Memory, Expectation, Imagination, Play, Processes Thought, Relation of Language to Thought. Feeling and its expression, Pleasure id Pain. Emotions and Sentiments, stages of mental development from infancy adolescence; Voluntary action. Temperament and character.

(Honours)

ddition to a fuller treatment of the Pass Course, the following:—

sciousness and sub-consciousness. Hypothesis of Unconscious Mental states. pment of Self-consciousness. Unity of conscious life Personality. Appetite, e, Higher forms of Volition. Factors in conscious learning. Rise of the conion of formal discipline. Criticism of formal discipline by recent psychology.

PAPER III.

Education in India since 1835, with special reference to Bengal.

(Pass)

A brief account of the educational enterprises by the Early Missionaries and the East India Company.

Bentinck's educational policy. Wood's Despatch on Education, Organisation of education through voluntary efforts and local self-govering bodies The development f the state-directed system. The educational policies of 1904 and 1913. Legislations n primary education. The Primary Education Acts of Bengal. The Bengal Government Resolutions of 1935 and 1937. Development of the Secondary system. The present position of primary and secondary education and their major problems. The Wardha scheme of Education. The education of girls.

(Honours)

In addition to a fuller treatment of the Pass Course the following:—

The control and administration of primary education in different provinces of the ndian Union. The Primary Education Acts of Bombay, Madras and the United ovinces of Agra and Oudh. The Basic Education schemes. The function of education in a democracy. The ideal of education in a democracy.

PAPER IV.

(Honours)

New Trends in Education.

The Psychology of the class. Standards and Mental Tests, Scales of Attainment.

The Dalton Plan. The Gary contribution. The Play Way. The Project Method. Psycho-Analysis in Education-Gestat-theory, Behaviourism.

The principles of Guidance in Learning. Transfer of Training. Frustration in Teaching.

PAPER V.

(Honours)

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Selected periods as may be fixed by the Board of Studies in Teaching from time to time.

PAPER VI

(Honours)

Educational Writings and Essay

Books may be prescribed and selections made from time to time by the Board of Studies in Teaching. The essay shall carry 40 marks.

Senate House:
The 4th March, 1949

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.)

BEDFORD COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

(University of London).

Regent's Park, N. W. I.

PARTICULARS OF AWARD OF POST-GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS.

The Council of Bedford College invite applications for three Postgraduate Research Fellowships for 1949-50, one to be awarded in one of the subjects in each of the following groups of subjects:—

1. Botany. Chemistry, Geology, Physics, Physiology, Zoology,
2. Geography, Mathematics. Philosophy, Psychology, Social Studies.
3. Dutch, French, German, Italian, Greek, Latin, English, History.

QUALIFICATIONS

The Fellowships are open to men and women graduates of any University. Preference will normally be given to graduates of not less than three years' standing but no specifie age limits are laid down. Evidence of the applicant's capacity for original research will be required.

TENURE

The Fellowships are tenable at Bedford College for Women and are awarded in the first instance for one session, *i.e.* from October, 1949 to September, 1950. The award may be renewed for a second year.

EMOLUMENTS

The value of the Fellowships is £ 300 per annum (not regarded as income for tax purposes).

APPLICATION

Applications should be made in triplicate on the forms attached and should be accompanied by—

(*a*) not more than two recent testimonials
(*b*) a photograph of the applicant
(*c*) copies of any work published or prepared for publication which the candidate may desire to submit.
(*d*) Names of two persons to whom reference may be made.
(These may be the same as those giving testimonials.)

They should reach the Secretary not later than 20th April, 1949. Papers will as possible be returned. Selected applicants may, where practicable, be invited attend for interview early in May.

January, 1949.

(Signed) IRENE G. SHEPPARD
Secretary.